[P.29b]

616 796 Eagles belonged to the toxelyuwiš moiety chief. Dead eagles were danced over and carefully buried.[75] People not of the toxelyuwiš moiety who wished to obtain money would kill an eagle and take it to the people that owned it, the toxelyuwiš people. The eagle thus killed was a free wild bird, not a captive. When the toxelyuwiš people saw the eagle being brought, they would arrange blankets upon which to lay the body and then cry for the dead bird, scattering beads over it. Beads were also given to the man who brought the eagle. The nutuwuts people did not cry for the dead eagle.

For a slain coyote no ceremony was held; in fact, anciently people were afraid to kill coyotes. No animal of the nutuwuts moiety received such respect as the eagle of the toxelyuwiš moiety.

...Although some of the creatures [totemic animals] were occasionally kept captive ... there would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

844 If delivery was difficult, it was attributed to the evil force of some shaman. Ordinarily no man was present during a childbirth, but a shaman was called if necessary. [756] He knelt before the squatting woman, held the top of her head, pressing his sacred talisman upon it, then similarly pressed her abdomen and sprayed a little water on it. Then the birth occurred; it was attributed to the power of his talismans. Sometimes women lay on a bed of hot ashes before the birth in order to hasten it. A decoction of burned whippoorwill feathers was thought helpful.

The cord was cut by an assisting female relative with a cane knife (ka·pi) which was used for no other purpose. The placenta and cord were put on the end of a buckeye stick and shoved down under the water in some secluded corner of a stream or pond; the stick pinned the objects to the mud at the bottom.

The navel stump (tutu´sami) was put in a little skin bag (nowadays beaded) and worn on a string about the neck. J.A. knew no purpose for this custom. The father of the infant ate no meat until the stump had come off.

846 The mother remained on a bed of hot stones and ashes for about two weeks. When she got up she was washed by her husband's mother and presented with some new clothing. This little ceremony was called hiam e´p'ɨn (ep, to wash with water, to swim). The eating of meat was

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[75] The eagle buried with abalone ornaments over its orbits may be an example of this practice from the more southerly Yokuts near Buena Vista Lake (Gifford and Schenck, The Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, pl. 13).

764 Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules and others incompletely cremated before burial.[79]

775 The ghosts of the dead were believed to rise in two days and travel westward to the afterworld which was ruled over by a chief, Tip· ´kn·ts (supernatural power one). There life was reversed; the dead slept by day, danced and enjoyed life at night; food was abundant and inexhaustible; a living person smelled foul to the dead. Ghostly relatives lived in the same domestic groupings as in life. These beliefs, practically uniform for all Yokuts people, were embodied in a myth about a man who followed his dead wife to the afterworld and who thus brought knowledge of it back to the living.[80]

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power

787 M.G. offered the following information on Tachi beliefs regarding supernatural power.

756 Not all people dreamed to get power nor, if one did, need he become a shaman. Many men and old women got "unprofessional" power. Women were never shamans.

If a significant dream came to a person he went out and "talked to it." He went some distance from his house, smoked a little tobacco, and scattered on the ground crane (ko· ´lṭat) down (eagle down was too dangerous). This was done whether the help was accepted or rejected; to ignore a dream helper's ɔffer of power would make one ill. If the helper was accepted, a fast was maintained throughout the following day. The helper was called ane· ´čwal. Cooper's hawk (pohiyɔn) was a "strong" dream, i.e., this bird was the bestower of strong power.

756 Kroeber gives us the genesis of a Tachi shaman.

> The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface.

A Chunut man became a shaman by dreaming and fasting. If he wanted great power he would let a black spider (metsa)[81] bite his tongue;

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[79] Handbook, 499.

[80] Gayton and Newman, 17-19, abstracts 140, 141; Gayton, The Orpheus Myth, passim.

[81] Metsa means "true, authentic," in this case referring to black spider's great supernatural power.

756 then he would dream of the creature. When he arose he ate and drank nothing but tobacco. He absented himself from home, walking about during the daytime. If possible he went to a pond of water where some supernatural animals might come out and talk to him. He did not have to take jimsonweed.

Moiety affiliations do not limit the walaṭ
616 talismans secured through dreams: thus Cooper's
hawk (pohiyɔn) can be dreamt of by anybody. So
756 could the ground owl (wetiṭi), who was so commonly a shaman's helper "that people didn't know which side [moiety] he belcnged on." Other owls were definitely Nutuwich, so that "if a Tokelyuwich person dreamt about owl, he'd think a Nutuwich doctor was talking about him." Such a dream visitor might even be recognized as a specific person's helper.

Those persons who did not want to possess
756 ṭɨpni (supernatural power) even for private use had to be respectful to a supernatural visitation when it came onsought. J.A. declared herself such. When a young woman she ate tobacco but dreamed nothing in result. She was a little fearful of power and really did not want it.

756 One night a white spider (kolokɨ´lwoi metsa) bit her. She threw it away but it came back to her. The spider said, "you are going
787 to dance in [at?] the fire." She replied, "No, I wouldn't do that. Om na tɨpni (I am not ṭɨpni). Don't bother me. I'm just a plain person."

Last year (1926) she dreamed an old man said to her, "I'd like you to be tiya." He offered her a big basket. J.A. did not want it, returned it to the old man. This man was remembering that her father's brother had been a chief. They argued for a bit, but J.A. maintained her negation. However, "she got sick later on because she didn't believe this," i.e., she made no prayerful or grateful response, had not thought of it as a supernatural dream.

A short time ago she dreamed that her present son-in-law [brother of her daughter's first husband] came and wanted to marry [?] Belle. He stood behind the door. Then he kicked J.A. over each eye. She woke up. She went to sleep again and dreamed that she was praying. Her daughter Belle stood there pointing to heaven "because some kind of devil was after her." When J.A. awoke in the morning she decided that this dream had no supernatural significance, that "there was nothing to it," that she and Belle were both good and did no one harm. She said to herself:

om na heuto´ho
not I prostitute, [to go around]

om na lowai´tna
not I male sexual partner

hina´ na na'as toṭi
happy I, I not bad

om na'as heho´ma topo´lṭi
not I to-get-rich genitals-by

[P.32b]

756 787 [548] Nevertheless, this was said in a prayerful manner, as if to convince herself and any unknown power behind the dream, that all was well. [A neighbor of J.A.'s was said to be a prostitute. J.A. has tried to keep Belle out of difficulties with men lest she "lose her grub from the government."]

[555] In connection with dreams J.A. stated that a plain person (of no family prestige) "could dream and get to be something." A man could dream of Eagle, which would help him acquire wealth, and he would then be a chief (tiya).[82]

Dreams were regarded as actualities. If one dreamed that someone was gossiping about him, he would chide the person about his behavior at the first opportunity.[83]

756 787 778 The man who accepted dream help and wished to become a professional shaman continued his fasting, dreaming, and praying over a long period of time. He secured walaṭ, the talismans of his dream helper: these might be parts of animals or birds who were assisting him, or objects which they directed him to obtain. They might be a necklace of beads, or any object designated in a dream, such as a weasel skin, bird or animal heads, or a portion of the dream helper, its wing or tail feathers. The walaṭ always referred to the dream helper and was indicated by it. An exception to this is the eagle-down strings, which always were imbued with ṭ‘pni and were the common "tool" for magic. J.A. said a raven's head was a "good" walaṭ, she had seen one which its owner kept wrapped in eagle down. Weasel skins were used in extracting "airshot."

A walat, once used, lost its usefulness. The owner took it out and hid it in some secluded spot, and if he wanted to live long, he would never take it out again. Owners of walaṭ kept them carefully in some private place as they were dangerous, "they got mean if they were lost or carelessly handled; they talked about you."

The walaṭ of the Chunut is identical with the ai´n‘tc of the Wukchumni. Both people used the word ana´ṭwal to indicate the dream itself, or verbally for the process of dreaming. It appears that the foothill people use the first part of the word to indicate the dream talisman (ain‘tc), the lake people the second part (walaṭ).

Sickness and Curing

755. In curing a patient a doctor took with him a flint knife for cutting, a bunch of hand

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[82] This seems somewhat contrary to the inheritable nature of the office but agrees with her statements concerning Chunut chieftaincy made at another time.

[83] J.A. complained that some neighboring Indians were "talking about" her while I was there, and I could never discover whether this was real or dreamed.

755 feathers (so´n·l or wača´m) to brush off the illness, and his talismans. Eagle-down strings were worn wrapped around the body. Special walaṭ, such as animal heads, were pressed against the patient's body and held up in different directions while the doctor prayed to the supernatural helper it represented. A powerful doctor was able to suck out sickness without making any incision.

When Poso'o was in the process of curing a person he never ate or drank, nor did he sleep. He would bathe, walk about in secluded places, and converse with his walat or with some animal who would tell him what to do. A cure usually lasted two days: the first "call" was made in the evening, and was for the purpose of diagnosis. Then the shaman consulted his supernatural assistants, as above, and return to effect the cure at noon of the following day. It was then that he announced the cause of the sickness and fell to work with cutting, sucking, and brushing. If he were treating a wound which was dirty, he would blow on it, lick it thoroughly, and spit onto a tray (tsa´p·l) covered with sand. Sand, saliva, etc., were dumped on a fire.

A doctor of standing had an assistant (añutun winatum) who looked after his paraphernalia, prepared the medicines if any were to be administered, dressed the shaman in his ceremonial costume and painted his face, and removed the sickness, which was squeezed or spat onto a tray. The doctor's winatum, like the chief's, had Dove as his family totem.

756 [428] A doctor's paraphernalia were burned on his death; they were not inherited even though the man had a son who was a shaman. Neither was there inheritance of his ritual methods. A shaman would probably have one son who would be a doctor: it was somewhat expected, but there "was no rule about it" and it "all depended on his dreams."

A family in need of a doctor would get together what they hoped would be a sufficient sum and send it to him with a request for his aid. The doctor did not have to accept; but if he wanted more money he would not demand it then but would wait until later on, when curing was under way. The mercenary attitude of shamans was emphasized as usual by J.A.

If a doctor did not want to cure a person until all his money was gone, he'd let him stay sick. If he didn't get enough money he'd let the patient die.

[754] A bad doctor might shoot a white feather into you; only he could remove it. An evil chief would pay a doctor to affect an enemy with sickness which he would not cure.[84] "When a tiya was jealous he had a doctor do his killing for him. Any doctor could work for any tiya."

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[84] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

754 756 In such cases of deliberate harm, if a person sent for a doctor other than the one who had sent the sickness, the doctor who attempted the cure would be sickened by the evil shaman. Only a very "big" doctor could bring about a cure under such circumstances, and at great risk to himself: it was one man's power against another's.

754 825 Coyotes were thought to be "servants" of evil shamans and ṭɨpni people. If a doctor were going to injure a family or make a visit with harmful intentions, he would send a coyote ahead of him the preceding night. The coyote would go through the village barking and thrust his head in the door of the doomed house. When people heard a coyote doing this they would get up with their bows and arrows and try to shoot it. But they never succeeded, as such an animal was supernatural. When the coyote returned to his master, the shaman would dance and sing his songs. The next day the doctor would appear at the house The use of a coyote by a man who used his supernatural power to persecute others was related amongst other anecdotes of evil shamans by J.A.[85]

Shaman's Cache

756 556 778 As in the foothills, doctors were believed to have private caches where the wealth they accumulated was hidden: such a cache is called tai´wan (a big burden or storage basket). One of these is located in a little ridge about eight hundred yards north of the Lemoore Rancheria. As usual, a fabulous account was given by J.A of the beads, baskets, feathers, skins, etc., stored there. In this region these things had to be buried as nature did not offer the convenient rock shelters of the foothills. Should anyone start to dig in this hill, swarms of gnats, flies, and fleas would attack the intruder and kill him. Or if he succeeded in reaching and touching the objects, he would suffer terrific pains and sickness.

A taiwan is always guarded by some sort of creature. This one is inhabited by a personified fire: a bright light emanates from the ridge at times. It glides about and frightens people when they walk to town at night; it follows them. It is a kind of person without legs who just floats along; it is called he'u´te'ɨts ka´lɨl (walks light [or lightning]). This lightning sings:

hia´m (i) na ṭipi´newe oiyo´lomo·
now I ṭɨpni move

When the ground is plowed (by the white proprietor), the glowing light extends for about a quarter of a mile in all directions.

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[85] Ibid., 404.

756 This taiwan is an old one; nobody knows
556 what doctor owned it. Poso'o told J.A. about it and warned her to keep away from it. He
778 said a big sickness (tau´mui) like consumption or pneumonia would "come out" if any one attempted to disturb the place.

756 A doctor who has not practised long, yet shows inordinate signs of wealth, is suspected
556 of being a grave-robber. Some doctors were not afraid of graves or of dead people. When they
266 opened a grave they ate all the flesh of the corpse and left the bones scattered about.[86]

Once J.A., her daughter Belle, M.P. and her daughter Leah were out gathering wild onions on the Pohot ranch. They found a baby's skeleton: first they found a shoulder and a little hand, then a leg, and then a foot farther over toward the northwest. They were terrified and ran away at once. About a week later they heard that Halopča and his father, Etak, had dug up a little girl's grave; she was of a wealthy family and had lots of money buried with her. As these men lived up at Dunlap it was thought that they had come down via Eshom Valley to Lime Kiln Creek and thrown the remains on the Pohot's property to obviate suspicion.

683 Doctors who were believed to cause deaths were usually killed when someone had courage to
754 do it. J.A. did not formulate the procedure, merely said that this was so, and that her own grandfather was killed by some Tachi because it was thought he "sent sickness."

Illnesses and Treatments:
The following were specified by J.A.

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757 Headache: de´ltal. This was cured by sucking blood (pai´yamɨt) from the forehead just between the eyes.

[753] Nose bleed: ţomo´luna. This was due to a long hair of a dead person which a ghost inserted in one's forehead. The hair lay, internally, down the length of the nose. A doctor cut and sucked the extreme tip of the nose, and exhibited the intrusive hair.

Pain: woto´kwi. Any pain was called by this term and an attempt would be made to cure it by cutting and sucking.

757 Cold: ho´sowona. This was usually not treated unless very severe. The roots of a hard-wood shrub (atsai´yɨn ho´pal) were boiled and drunk for chills. To prevent cold in the chest a red clay was smeared liberally over the chest. For a bad cough, horehound was boiled and the liquid drunk. A cold which became
[754] incurable (pneumonia or consumption) would be attributed to a malevolent shaman, and then a shaman would be called to attempt a cure by his methods.

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[86] Burials were shallow and not impervious to animals. However, the belief that doctors ate the flesh of dead people is mentioned from other tribes.

757 Several anecdotes of individual sickness were related by J.A.

When X. was a little girl, she "had fits." A Choinimni doctor, No´hono, was paid $5.00 for cutting her at the forehead and the back of the neck, but no cure was affected. Another doctor, Kaosus, did the same thing; he extracted some intrusive hair from the back of the child's neck. She was cured.

[753] Another little girl "had fits" which were attributed to an evil man. This man, who had come to shear sheep, asked the child's father for $20.00, an amount the father did not have as he had just bought a horse. Soon after that the little girl "had a fit every time she saw that man" [a possible case of rape?]. Nohono, the Choinimni shaman, was called to cure this case also.

W.At.'s little girl "had fits" every night and morning. Her dead twin sister, Sikiyat, kept calling her. When Koyiyi had these spells she kept turning her head and looking back over her shoulder for her sister. They took her to another Choinimni doctor, Sumtiwɨs (Bob of Bobtown) who gave the foregoing diagnosis; however, he said if "he got that spirit [the dead sister's] out of the child she would die." J.A. and others were skeptical of this excuse. J.A. told the girl's mother to make her smell romero (rosemary), which was "used by the padres and smells good," when she had these attacks. When Koyiyi "starts to die" lumps form between her eyebrows, but disappear when she "comes to life." Recently the child fell in a pond, but recovered herself. [Epilepsy?]

756 J.A. knew of one woman doctor, Suko´tɨts, who lived down at Tule River Reservation. She
683 was not a berdache, for she had a son who, himself a doctor, was eventually killed for malpractice.[87] J.A. has seen her cure.

[754] A black scorpion bit Tsomoi´yɔt (J.A.'s cousin) on her foot; it had been sent by a
755 Wukchumni doctor. Sukot·ɨts was called. She sat down before the patient and talked to her
752 dream helper who told her the cause of the trouble. (There was no dancing.) She sang a
756 song:

tuna´ha la na we·ta´
pine tree on I wainus[88]

hiye´wuka na
where-I-am I

we·ta´ puku´lu na
wainus wainus [Tachi form] I

At the end of the song she gestured up toward the pine ridges of the hills and then down to

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[87] This is the woman known as Poi´'in or Bo´'iyon to other informants.

[88] Wainus was a supernatural serpent (?) who lived underground; he was a powerful dream helper. See Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths.

755 the ground toward wainus. She cut and sucked
752 out the scorpion poison. But she herself was
poisoned by it: she lived a little while after
● 756 making the cure, then "turned yellow all over
and died."

J.A. heard her sing the song many times;
usually it varied somewhat but its essence re-
756 mained the same. Her talismans of supernatural
power were an eagle's head, a weasel skin, the
heads of a baby coyote, a prairie falcon, and a
Cooper's [?] hawk. She wore many beads strung
on eagle-down cord (pisesan) about her neck and
wrists. The coyote's head hung on one of these.
It "caught the sickness" which then would be
squeezed off its nose onto a tray for exhibi-
tion. When curing, she sat in front of her
patient and held onto his head, meanwhile call-
ing on her dream helpers. She "went around to
fast and dream just like a man."

Once J.A. was very sick with chills. Two
755 beautiful girls with flowers in their hair came
and stood at each side of her feet. They told
her to ask God what she should do. Soon a
little baby came and sat near her; it was suck-
ing its fingers; she could hear it crawling
about in the leaves. No one came to help her.
Finally she made her way over to Poso'o's (Bob
Bautista's) house. He cut her on the back of
the neck and at each temple and sucked. She
got better soon. A girl there cooked some
atole [flour and water] for her which she ate.

When she was a young woman, J.A. had measles, "she nearly died." Her mother sent for Sapagai who came and brushed her off with his hand feathers. The sickness, which "looked like insects," he squeezed off the feathers. He cut and sucked at the top of the sternum. She recovered soon after.

756 Sumtiwɨs (Bob of Bobtown) and Tutya (Pony
Dick Watun) are the only doctors left (1929).
The former diagnoses by holding both wrists of
the patient. About a year ago J.A. suffered
from bad headaches; she went up to Sumtiwɨs.
He cut over the inner extremity of each eyebrow
and sucked out blood and a little white pointed
object from each incision.

Poisoning

278 Another kind of injury caused by doctors
is that called poisoning, but neither it nor
753 the shamans using it are distinguished by any
special term. The poison itself is called añta-
´wa, from the same word root as shaman (añtu).
Poisoning is thought to operate by means of
actual contact with poisonous substances which
may be put on any object which the victim is
likely to touch, or the poison may be adminis-
tered in food. Yet it is thought to be invisi-
ble. Symptoms of poisoning are severe swelling
of parts (thought to have been touched by the
poison) and the vomiting of blood. J.A. gave

278 that Tɨpwatswats' wife was killed by a shaman. He had come to where she was sleeping and 753 pulled the blankets off her; she resisted him; she was pregnant at the time with a posthumous child and was very angry. The rejected shaman poisoned her immediately after.

Then another maternal uncle, Haˊtna (Frank) died soon after this. His daughter, Tsaiˊ'iyat (Nancy), who did not want to sleep with a certain shaman, was killed after he had killed her father. The bereaved widow and mother then moved down to Porterville to escape the persecution which followed the family.

J.A.'s aunt, Yukiˊ'at (Mary), went down to the Tule River Reservation where a tiya named Aˊnats gave her a large handsome basket which proved to be poisoned. Yuki'at's forearm and mouth swelled up from handling it. As there was no doctor at Pisras at that time, she died.

Kanti, the Tachi chief, was poisoned by some other tiya. He got sick at his stomach and his legs swelled up.

Wepɨs, J.A.'s brother, stepped on a stick and sprained his ankle. His leg swelled up and he vomited blood. Naha'at, a Choinimni doctor, cut and sucked his leg but it did no good. He was sick all winter and died in the spring. J.A. considers this a case of poisoning.

P.D.W. is in the hospital (1929). Somebody put out poison for him to sit on, "just to find out if he had power enough to cure himself." [The truth is, he went over to Friant to cure some one there and suffered exposure in the recent storm.]

Specialized Shamans

756 While the lake tribes do not seem to have had specialized doctoring, i.e., weather shamans, snake-handlers, as strongly developed as in the southern foothills, they possessed one class of shamans, the Bear doctors, who were merely dancers and transformers in the foothill regions. The emphasis on Bear shamans who were also transformers is probably another indication of the cultural alignment of the lake tribes with those to the north -- Chukchansi, Miwok -- rather than to the east. It is from Kroeber and Gifford that the present Tachi data are derived. The bit of Chunut information from J.A. concerns the Tachi; she did not recall any Bear doctors among the Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol gathered at Pisras.

Kroeber gives the following information on Tachi Bear shamans.

> Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans other than as exhibitors of their powers is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.[90] ... The Tachi ascribed to their bear doctors, and of course,

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[90] This statement obviously does not apply to the Tachi or other lake dwellers who rarely, if ever, encountered bears in their territory.

756 especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped and roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors.[91]

A man became a Bear doctor by the same methods -- bathing, fasting, dreaming -- by which one acquired tɨpni power for other purposes, according to Kroeber's anecdote.

A Tachi bathed at night. At last a bear appeared in his dreams and instructed him. After many years, not before middle life, he reached the power of becoming a bear at will. He swam in a pool, emerged as the animal, and went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary.[92]

J.A. was told of a Bear shaman by Juana, her Tachi "aunt" (mother's cousin).

A man was called Piwa´sa, a name referring to his Bear shamanism, although his real name was Aho´ni. He had bear's hair on his chest. When the blackberries were ripe he would turn into a bear and go to play with real bears. He would say, "I am going out to be Bear." He had a knife and killed anyone who came to kill him. When he was a little boy he dreamed of Bear; he told Bear that he was his friend; Bear became his dream helper (pu'us). [616] All bears are classed as Nutuwich but this does not mean that the man belonged to that moiety.

Gifford reports on a Tachi shaman:

In the genealogical information obtained, but two shamans are mentioned. Halhalis is the older. He was a Nutuwuts man of the coyote totem. He was a čipni shaman, one who had derived from a dream the power to turn himself into a bear. His son Čoiiwai became an ordinary curing shaman (anču).

One shaman, Solo´lo, known to J.A., specialized in ghost scaring: this practice was called ane´tapɨn wɨpɨ´l. He was said to have learned this from dwarfs; he just sang. He was not [sic] paid for his services.

Another man got special gambling power from his father's cutting flint, which he kept as a talisman. This made him unbeatable (yamɨ nɨl).

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[91] Handbook, 516-517.

[92] Ibid., 514-515.

[P.37b]

789 Kroeber gives "teshich gomom as the designation of 'rain doctor' or weather shamans."[95]

Supernatural Creatures

773 776 A very long time ago there were two girls called ta'ñai (datura, jimsonweed). In the spring when jimsonweed was in blossom they would go out on the plains to pick these blooms. They made wreaths for their hair and carried bunches of flowers in their hands. They were very beautiful as they danced out over the plains, always at a distance from observers. As they danced they sang, "Now I shake the flowers being carried" (hiya'mi na·watsa' meke'' elao'ni). Men were fascinated and wanted to catch the girls. They would drink a decoction of jimsonweed in order to see them better. Onlookers would ask the men what they saw, what the girls were doing. The drinkers would run off over the fields trying to catch the girls, but the girls were supernatural (tɛpni) and could never be caught. (See section on "Jimsonweed.")

776 Water babies (wi'tɛp a'ki, lit., spring baby) were not uncommon in local ponds. They had long black hair and tiny hands. People did not like to see them.

A supernatural dog (tɛpni pu'us) lived amongst the button willows at a pond just northeast of J.A.'s house. The dog had no special name. Some supernatural people lived there too; real people never got very close to them.

Wainus is a big snake with a human head. He lives underground, and if he likes a person will come out into view. He helps doctors, but if a person who did not want supernatural power were to see one, he would die. ● [756] Chicken-hawk down was sprinkled before them if seen. Bob Bautista, a prominent Tachi shaman, longed to see one "but he never did."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

776 821 An all-black dog was said to be "Thunder's dog." But during a thunderstorm any dog might be whipped out of doors until it yelped, then it would be turned loose and the thunder would cease. This refers to the belief that the Thunder Twins were fostered by a bitch, that they will cease their racket rather than have her suffer.

[301] Most Yokuts people were, and still are, afraid to wear abalone shell ornaments during a storm. If a person were caught out with one in bad weather, it should be torn off and thrown as far as possible. At the spot where it alighted "the thunder would stand right on it," i.e., lightning would strike and take it.

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[95] Handbook, 54, 518.

276 (Hoshima). When it was used at Čiau, the following practices were observed.

Jimsonweed was taken but once during life, by men only, at about twenty years of age. An old man who had jimsonweed as a dream helper had charge of the affair. He took the youths away from the village for about two months, usually November and December. The drinking was not done in public, and M.G. implied that it took place at the end of the first month of seclusion. They abstained from meat for one month before, and one month after, the drinking, subsisting entirely on tule root mush (po´kto). They took an emetic before eating meat again.

The seclusion of the drinkers was not rigid; they came home occasionally to get things they might want. M.G. thought they had to do a great deal of running, but did not know what instructions were given them.

[789] The purpose of the drinking was to ensure a long life (čačai´nawaš, "to have roots").
● 756] These men did not become shamans, nor did they, while in the narcosis, attempt curing of others.

[752] Jimsonweed was used medicinally by the Tachi: a poultice of the mashed roots was applied to broken bones.

Gifford includes the following in his notes on Tachi moieties.

> The use of jimsonweed (monui in Tachi, tani in more southerly Yokuts dialects) seems to have had no connection whatsoever with the moieties or the totems. In olden times boys drank jimsonweed and saw many things -- the world, as the Tachi express it -- while in narcosis. Sometimes a mountain lion or bear was seen. The creature seen was usually not a moiety totem.

The Chunut, in closer contact with the foothill people, made more use of jimsonweed (ta´nai) than did the Tachi and Wowol.[98] The Wowol did not refuse it entirely but were uneasy about its powers, according to J.A. She has never taken it, and holds it in awe. She does not think it has been used ceremonially for thirty or forty years.

The Chunut jimsonweed drinking took place about February, or even earlier. Young men and women who had reached full maturity of growth might take it, and as often as they wished, provided it was in the early spring. By taking
[787] it one "could see anything": one found out how long he would live, saw the causes of people's sickness, saw what shamans were doing, who was dying far away, or where lost articles were. As an example, J.A. said if somebody would take some jimsonweed now, she could find out who broke into her trunk and took her things and where they were now. (Her trunk was robbed about a month previous, while she was at Delano cooking for sheep-shearers.)

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[98] The Chumash used it as a prerequisite to the handling of weather-making charmstones (Yates, 304).

276 Jimsonweed grew in abundance on the plains. Bob Bautista's wife would dig up the plants for him; the digger abstained from meat for three days before setting out on the task. The plant was sprinkled with chicken-hawk down and addressed, "Well, tanai, I'm coming after you. I'm going to bury you in ashes and make a drink of you. A man is going to drink you."

The drink was made from the roots. These were roasted on hot coals under ashes "like sweet potatoes." This made them tender and juicier, and then the sap was wrung out of them into a large basket.

The decoction was made by the leader or
787 one responsible for the affair. He had special
276 songs, which J.A. did not remember. She did
remember a Wechihit man, Wao´du'i (Tip), who came from Sanger to Lemoore to administer it. He gave each person a small basketful, saying as he did so, "Here is your drink. See what you can. May you see what you want to see." The drinker replied by addressing the tanai. "See me. See what I am. Show me my life."

While under the narcosis the drinker could see the causes of sickness. These often appeared as microcosms which they picked off the
[756] invalid and threw on the fire (not on a basket;
only shamans put sickness on a basket). They could also see poison on poisoned objects and these they would toss on the fire to be destroyed. An evil shaman who feared discovery through this means would "cover" the tanai's power with his own, so that the drinkers saw nothing.

The wife of one of J.A.'s maternal uncles, Ačkoi´yat (Julia), often took a little jimsonweed in order to see her dead sister. She wanted J.A. to take it, but J.A. didn't want to. She said she was afraid she would find out that she was going to die the next day, "and if I'm to die, I'll die anyway; I don't need to know about it."

She recalls that Poso'o (Bob Bautista), a noted shaman, took jimsonweed at least twice. She also remembers that two Choinimni men took a decoction in summertime and died (as a consequence of the stronger qualities of the mature plants ?).

Jimsonweed was used for medicinal and
757 anaesthetic purposes. It was not used thus by
276 shamans, but by any person, even one without a
jimsonweed dream helper, who knew the practical procedure.

The leaves were sometimes mashed and put on sores. An old Chunut man did this and a narcosis resulted. J.A. and his wife were much afraid of him while he talked to persons known to be dead. He recovered in two or three days.

As an example, J.A. described the use of
[752] jimsonweed on Lu´tsuk (Jim), who died as the
result of a fight. Early one morning J.A. was awakened by shouting; with others, she ran out and found Lutsuk "hacked all over" and bleeding profusely. They covered his wounds with

757 plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew 276 of the plant which "made him crazy for about two weeks and then he died." He became swollen [752] and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo, took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the back of his head. He was thought to have observed all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance, principally), but he died soon after.

752 For fractures the skin was scarified all around the injury and a poultice of cooked, 276 mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A large poultice was applied all over his shoulder, and he was cured.

For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was 276 used in the valley as it was in the foothills, 789 i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928) W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during the night. He opened and closed both the back door and the front. She could hear him walking about softly in the kitchen. She called to him, asked him what he wanted, said she would help him if he wanted to, but he did not answer. The next day a woman told her to cook some jimsonweed in the house to drive away the ghost. But J.A. had been eating meat and handling greasy things, so she did not want to touch any jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

796 An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood recalled a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi´č·k, who 756 handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattlesnake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe, 825 not the Nutunutu, lived."[99]

Toič·k got two or three snakes which he kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They were starved for six days. Then he put the snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them and picked them up and put them around his neck "to show that he was not afraid of them"; but he did not let them bite him. Everybody watched him; he was not paid [*sic*]. There were singers there, too. There was some purpose in this to keep people from being bitten by rattlesnakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toič·k could "make any snake bite any person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and never did this. The snake ritual was called le´ʼalawa, the handling, dai´was or tatla´was.

796 [184] The Bear Dance was made by the people of the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

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[115]

[99] The informant, who was very dull, could not recall the name of the tribe. She may have had the Hutsammi in mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

796 her husband, W.At., who had never seen it. J.A. knew of it, as performed by the Wukchumni and Gawia, but she could not describe it well. She [237 knew of one man, Sapa´te, who did this dance; the singers used cocoon rattles; it was done in 534] the daytime. It took place in the fall, after the acorns were down; acorn mush could not be eaten, otherwise.

Bear doctors, however, were not uncommon in the lake region.

The Rattlesnake Ritual was not made by the Chunut, Tachi, or Wowol; it may have been made by the Gawia, Yokod, and Telamni; J.A. definitely attributes it to the foothill people. She once saw Pušlɨ´lɨn, a Choinimni, "go around with a snake" which he stepped on; that part [752] was called tatlawas. She knew of no purpose in the performance: when one was bitten by a rattlesnake one called an ordinary sucking doctor. Neither did she know of coyote impersonation in this or any other connection.

First-fruit rites were merely called "little party" (witi lonu´iwɨs), and seem to have been scrupulously observed, yet remained unelaborated. J.A. thinks the Tachi and Wowol were like the Chunut in the observation of these rites, which pertained primarily to 796 berries and seeds. All seeds (pa´wəs, so´pas, 616 tsos, su´kun, ya'ha´'al, tsa´mɨt, and ṭaltoi´ya [mushrooms]) were classified as Tokelyuwich, whereas berries, birds, and animals[100] were Nutuwich. The little ritual was a reciprocal function. The moiety associated with the foods, as Nutuwich was with berries, would obtain a supply of them when they first became available each year. The chiefs called the people to assemble, and the Nutuwich people presented them to the Tokelyuwich, who thereupon ate them. Then the Nutuwich were free to do so; the new crop remained tabu to them until the Tokelyu- [824] wich had eaten of it. If Nutuwich people ate blackberries (ma´mɨl) too soon, their children would "break out with berries all over their bodies." The same procedure was followed with seasonal foods associated with the other moiety.

796 J.A. referred to the Bear Dance and acorn tabu in this connection, knowing it as an analogue in foothill culture. However, she did not know of any first rites in connection with salmon or migratory birds. Clover "belonged to [262] everybody" and was eaten at any time of year; tobacco was also freely used. She was unable to give any details of the ceremonial eating, to name the participants, etc.; it seems reasonable to assume that the chiefs and their families were the first to partake as in the northern foothill region.

A seed-growing dance, which was at once a prophetic ritual and display of magical powers, was given each spring by one or two shamans who

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[100] J.A. could not classify the Nutuwich foodstuffs, rather vaguely making "berries" the sole food involved for this moiety.

[P. 41 a] Chunut

796 At the end of the singing and dancing[a] people who had long illnesses would be brought [755] in to be cured. The shaman brushed off the patient with a flipping motion of his hand feathers. Neither doctor nor patients ate any meat for six days after this performance.[101]

765 The Huhuna Dance, which in the foothills is part of the annual mourning celebration but may also occur as a discrete entertainment, was known in the lake region only as an adjunct to the mourning ceremonies. J.A. recalls a performance at Tule River Reservation some twenty years ago, and another in Tachi territory when she was a little girl. Her failure to give a specific account of this for the Chunut fits [184] with the Tachi (M.G.) statement that the Choinuk, Telamni, and northerners (Hoshima) lacked the dance. For its description see "Mourning Ceremony."

796 Guksai is a name mistakenly applied to Huhuna by some informants. J.A. clearly distinguished between the two and, indeed, was the one person who had seen and knew exactly who Guksai was. She saw this dancer at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley; his performance followed immediately upon Huhuna's.

This man was a doctor. His tribal affiliation was not known to J.A., who thinks he [756] might have been Choinimni. He was dressed, not in Huhuna's long feather robe, but in the usual doctor's regalia: feather headdress (sema and ču), feather strand skirt, white paint (ho´šɔt) in streaks on his body but none on his face; he carried a bone whistle. He danced about by himself, then he would sit down for a while and sing to an accompaniment: Huhuna never sang. Guksai could not find money. But like Huhuna, he was "killed" by a doctor. In this instance it was a shaman named Manuelo (otherwise unknown to J.A.) who functioned. While Guksai was unconscious, the spectators wept but ceased as soon as he was revived.

J.A. said that Guksai was never seen "down this way" (in the valley or lake region); she did not know the subject of his songs. Both Huhuna and Guksai performed solely for the purpose of making money; the spectators wanted it because "it made the people giving the fandango [mourning ceremony] cry."

Pleasure dances (ha´tim) were frequently 536 held. A chief might give such little parties 517 (again referred to as lonu´witi) at his house. His wife and female relatives prepared 574 quantities of food, and all the guests brought food contributions for which they were paid. The guests were "anybody" of any moiety, everybody from the village went, or any visitor from near-by villages. This was "just for a good time," and neither singers nor dancers were [534] paid. The singers used the clapper accompaniment for such profane affairs. The songs "did

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[101] No payment was mentioned in connection with this affair, and my neglect to ask about it is a serious omission.

[a] [i.e., of the seed-growing dance of the Chunut.

535 not always have words"; they probably were of the "hai´ya hai´ya" variety. Both sexes joined 517 in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down strings around their hair. The men wore the 574 ceremonial feather skirt (tuhu´n) if they could get one, and painted their faces with stripes [302] or spots of black and white. There were no special paint patterns for this dance.[1]

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

535 At another time J.A. made brief reference to a similar affair which she called "plain 616 fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iw·s). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

> Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...
>
> At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself. It is given as recorded. As mentioned above, [765] the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic [152] and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

● 756 The Shamans' Contest was known to all the plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had hešwaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Ŋutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

[1] [i.e., pleasure dances. - Analyst]

756 chumni were on the other. They were not opposed by moiety, some being relatives and some just friends. There were only four doctors on each side, that is, really two doctors and their assistants.

The winatums built a large fire on each side. The doctors got close to these as it was from the fire they obtained their airshot. When ready the doctors and assistants in two files marched formally past each other and took up a position facing each other about twenty feet apart. In "fighting" they looked toward the sun from which the actual power of the shots was thought to come. They did not speak or pray to the sun but held up their hands, saying a long expirating "Ha-a-a-a!" then rubbed their hands together and then onto the large basket tray (čo´p·t) with which each was armed. There was no singing or dancing. When all was ready each doctor banged his tray on the ground, face downward, to propel the shot: "a tray held three rounds" and then had to be renewed. As the doctors succumbed they were carried aside by winatums; the onlookers wept. M.G. thinks that some succeeded in reviving themselves by looking at the sun. If this failed, the doctor whose shot was responsible was called to remove it. A doctor who revived himself returned the intrusive shot to the sender.

796
535 The Huhuna Dance was known to Tachi, Nutunutu, and Wowol, but the Choinuk, Telamni, and Hoshima (northerners) lacked it. (M.L., the Wukchumni, here interposed that her grandfather had danced it at Lemoore [in rancheria times ?] and G.G., M.G.'s son, had seen it at the Tule River Reservation.) The Nutunutu would come down to a Tachi village to see the performance, which always took place during the week of the mourning ceremony. Like the doctors' contest it was a daytime affair. The dancer's costume consisted of a "feather dress," and a cap shaped like an owl's head. He wore no paint on his face save "a little white around the mouth." He carried two long elderberry sticks which he cracked together as he jumped. He was able to find hidden money. Then a doctor killed him with airshot. M.G. recalls Kosewa as a doctor who did this; she thought both the doctor and Huhuna were Nutunutu; the doctor belonged to the Nutuwich moiety, but she did not know Huhuna's affiliations. When Huhuna died, all the spectators wept. The doctor then revived him. The spectators paid for the exhibition.

765 The Tachi mourning ceremony, according to Kroeber, lacked the effigy rite. "Among the latter [Tachi], after dancing till morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying."[102]

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[102] Handbook, 501.

[P. 426] Tachi

756 The Snake Ritual M.G. knew of, saying that
the Wechihit had it but the Tachi, Choinuk,
535 Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol did not. She said
Pusl·´l·n was an old man who could make that
[825] dance as Snake was his totem animal, but no one
else, without this totem, could dance with
snakes. However, Kroeber states that the Tachi
had a ceremony which "approximated" the Yaudanchi rite which he describes.[103]

The Bear Dance M.G. claimed for the Tachi and Wechihit but denied to the Wolasi, Telamni, Choinuk, Chunut, and Wowol, and northerners (Hoshima). The Tachi had three Bear dancers; one woman danced it also. The performance was given in the middle of summer or at any other time for entertainment. Everybody paid a little to see it. M.G. knew of no purpose in its performance, perhaps it was performed by Bear doctors.

A beaver or fish dance (ɔ´šw·š), a shamanistic display of the foothill people, was unknown to M.G., although Kroeber attributes it to the Tachi.[104]

535 M.G. likewise disclaimed any dance which was done exclusively by women.

The pleasure dance (hata´m·č or wa´tiyɔd) was done by the Tachi, usually in the wintertime when it would be "danced all night" by an open fire. Five men of no special totem stood in a row with three women at each end. The men wore the usual upright feather headdress (ču) and had bunches of flicker feathers tied to their arms and wrists. There were three singers who sat at one side and used a clapper accompaniment (tawa´taw·l). The dancers paid the singers; spectators paid the dancers.

The onlookers would say, "What dance is
that?" A singer would reply, "Deer dance,"
535 referring to the songs which were about birds
and animals.[105] M.G. could only remember two
539 such songs, which are doubtfully translated.

hi´awe na ko´no
Where am I, Daylight?

mosa´o wa na ko´no
Little sweathouse in [?] long I,
Daylight

In the second, Pelican (ho´hima) is singing.

he´li ipai´ya na
Pack in my head food I [refers
to pelican's method of putting
fish in his pouch]

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[103] Ibid., 506.

[104] Ibid., 507.

[105] Kroeber gives three Tachi songs, none of which seems pertinent to this discussion although one is, indeed, a dance song (Yokuts Language, 366); two Yaudanchi dance songs are about deer (ibid., 369).

769 special mourning singers (ahe´n‹č) sang in the early morning and evening; there were criers (pa´ʼič) also. Everyone who felt like it would join the singers and criers in their activities, which were of short duration. The singers would put out their hands and the mournful sounds ceased. During the six days of the affair men could play pole games, but no other games.

J.A. gave the order of rituals for the Annual Mourning Ceremony thus: huhuna (Huhuna), guksai (Guksai), heswas (shamans' contest), ma´tek pa´hat ("big" cry), tsumo´lwas (ceremonial washing), hatim (pleasure dance with women participating), and kam (doctor's dancing with songs).

On the third day the Huhuna Dance was given. The performer, who was not a shaman, [293] was dressed entirely in a full-length costume of feathers. A net closely covered his face and head, and to it were affixed two abalone discs which covered the eyes, and two feather horns resembling an owl's "ears." He had a bone whistle in his mouth and carried a little stick (see fig. 8, c). He went around the dance space and found money. (J.A. says he could see in spite of the shell discs, i.e., naturally, not magically.) A winatum had built a fire, and by it a doctor prepared his shot to kill Huhuna. It appeared to the spectators that Huhuna was unaware of his fate: they wept. When the doctor propelled his invisible shot and Huhuna fell unconscious, a winatum carried him aside. The doctor sucked out the shot, spat it on a tray; the winatum burned the intrusive matter. On Huhuna's revival the weeping ceased.

The people who were giving the mourning ceremony paid Huhuna [and the doctor, presumably]. When J.A. was a little girl she attended a Tachi (?) mourning ceremony where Tsewa (Joe, a Tachi of Nutuwich moiety) performed the Huhuna Dance; she does not know who the doctor was. Another time, twenty years ago, she saw the dance at Tule River Reservation; and again she saw it at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley (Wukchumni territory) where it was followed by a Guksai Dance. Inferentially it appears it was not normally part of a Chunut mourning ceremony.

On the fourth day of the mourning ceremony 769 the doctors' contest (h‹´swas) took place in midafternoon. There was no preliminary or 756 little contest as there was in the foothills. The contest began with the making of airshot (tu´yus sa´m‹n, airshot make). In the dance space, which had no special name or enclosure, the doctors' winatums had built fires for each doctor. Soaproot (ṭo´hoṭ) and "some other root that has little spines all over it, from the lake" were put on the fire to make the shot, but nothing visible resulted. At Pisras, and also at Čiau (Kingston) three doctors were on each side and, in the center, one powerful

769 shaman who was in the range of shot from both
sides. Each doctor had a large tray (tsa´pɨt)
756 and in unison they held these -- in both hands, at opposite edges, and tray face outward -- over the fire, toward the west, the east, upward, then toward the north, the south, and face down over the fire. While the tray was over the fire the doctor drew the smoke over it with his hand. The tray was then laid on the ground and stamped on with one foot. The tray was picked up and "smearing" motions made over it with the hand and the "shot" appeared as the hand made these rubbing movements.

The doctors sang "hela´lmo ha! ha! ha!" (breathed heavily) as they did this, and a crowd of boys who had been standing on each side and who carried poles with handkerchiefs attached, joined in the "Ha! ha! ha!" and waved their poles.

The doctors, who were dressed in the usual ceremonial costume, had otter (naha´'at), weasel (po´hət), or beaver (?) (waki´'as) skins
[825 fastened at their wrists. (Seal [te´pɨk] could not be used for this purpose; if it were, every-
753] one present would have pains and sickness.) These animals, which were talismans of a sort, caught opponents' shots in their mouths. The doctor could extract such shot, put it on his own tray, and return it to its sender. The shot was propelled by the usual method of banging the tray violently on the ground face downward.

When a doctor was struck he staggered about and fell down; his winatum placed a basket beside him and everyone put in a little money. At the same time the contestants shifted their position 90 degrees, i.e., to the next sides of an imaginary square.

The doctor in the center was never [sic] known to fall. It was he who must begin reviving the fallen, for only a doctor who sent a shot could extract it. At mourning ceremonies at Pisras it was always Ṣapagai who took the center position; up at Ciau (Kingston) J.A. saw Kosewa in the middle. The contesting doctors were all supposed to be benevolent, i.e., to be willing and able to revive their victims, because they were working for display purposes at the request of chiefs, who paid them for their services.[108]

The fifth day (nowadays, Saturday) people
769 spent in preparation for the big cry (ma´tɨk pa´hat) that night. At the dance place winatums had a large fire built which was lighted at dusk. The members of the mourning families paraded around the fire twice during the night. Some of them carried "dolls" dressed in clothes and draped with beads [money] on long poles; others carried baskets, feather ornaments, or other valuable objects. When these were finally thrown on the fire, which was seemingly

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[108] But see anecdotal material from this and other informants in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

764
767 look back for your family." Then they filled
in the earth. They were paid for this work,
and cleansed themselves by bathing.

The spirits of the dead went toward the
775 sunset, where the red clouds are seen as their
red paint. The chief there is Tɨpɨ´knɨts; he
is like a person and is prayed to. His
daughters, who wear rattlesnake dresses, help
people cross the dangerous bridge to the afterworld.[111]

When the Annual Mourning Ceremony took
769 place, the buriers had a special dance
767 (to'ončɨ´ma) which they performed very early
every morning. The winatum went around and woke everyone, saying that it was time for the dance to start. The dancers wore a costume of bones "all tied together," false hair of shredded willow bark which hung down the back, and false ears made of jackrabbit tails. They carried digging sticks in their right hands, and each had a burden basket on his back. The four performers stood in a row, while the corpse-carrier led their singing. They kept time with their canes. The mourners who came to join in the singing brought food (seeds or acorn meal) which they gave to the buriers at the end of the performance. The recipients snatched it and threw it over their shoulders into their baskets; if they did not accept it instantly when offered, it was thrown in their faces.

All of the buriers were called tonočɨm,
838 but not all were transvestites. The apparent
767 women usually were, but the men, like Wilihana,
dressed and occupied themselves normally.[112] The transvestites dressed as women and went seed-gathering with them. M.A. did not know what determined such a changed life, but was certain there was no special dream force behind it.

769 M.A. added that when visitors arrived for a mourning ceremony, they were lined up by a winatum and paid a little money. This was done for everyone regardless of whether he brought food to contribute.

SHAMANISM

756 M.A.'s father was a rattlesnake doctor. He could make rattlesnakes appear at any time and at any place; he "made them come down from the sun." When M.A. was little, her father

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[111] Gayton and Newman, 19.

[112] It is possible that such men were not transvestites but were in homosexual relation with those who assumed the female role.

[P. 47a] Paleuyami
Tubatulabal NS22

Y
● 756 would place a rattlesnake around her neck when she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased crying.

Y
[752] Rattlesnake (te´'ɛd) was her father's lineage totem. He cured people who had been struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from a gopher's mound into the wound. He could prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A. does not know how he accomplished this. She stated with great positiveness that he never danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern Valley culture. See below.) He did no other curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo´pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solopono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

Y
[145] When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and said that "she was going to be like him with white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all grey-white now.)

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787 Of supernatural power M.A. could or would not speak fluently: all her information was personalized. She did not "pay attention" to her dreams until after she was married. Then she swam three times during the night for three nights in succession. She was successful in her quest and "used her dreams to help her children"; but the nature of her power is not revealed. When she gambles, she eats only tobacco.

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[828] A dream is one's heart traveling around at night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to discover whether this "out at night" was an actuality or dreamed.)

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754 The most powerful curing doctor, but a bad one, was Wati´sti, according to M.A. She says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his victims but this was futile. He killed Wu´ni, the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives avenged his death by killing Watisti.[113]

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791 A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo´'no, was renowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew him to control the weather for pay. She related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopo'no was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others

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[113] See F.M.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

[P. 48 c] Koyeti

KOYETI

115 The following fragmentary notes were obtained from Dick Francisco (Yao´wi). At the time of my visit some personal difficulties of D.F.'s made him refuse to use any interpreter but his daughter, who proved hopelessly inadequate for her task.

D.F. was born at a rancheria on Deer Creek; his father and mother were both Koyeti -- "everybody who lived there was." They moved to Fort Tejon when he was very young; then after the first Ghost Dance they moved up to Tule [the older reservation where Porterville is now]. They were at Tejon during a big earthquake [1872]. While they lived at Tule there was a great flood which caused people to run to the hills.

648 The Koyeti and Bankalachi were close and friendly neighbors.

342 The houses on Deer Creek were mostly made of the large grass (?) rather than of tules.

756 D.P. does not remember the name of his Koyeti village, or of any chief.[117] He thinks there was "just one captain." But a powerful doctor, Maiye´mai (Manuel) was a well-known Koyeti. His power may have been from Eagle; he was "a good doctor and never killed anyone." He once cured Luisa Francisco, who was suffering from severe pains in her head. When he came to the house, he saw a "devil" (h·twai´ʼiya: malevolent ghost, "devil") standing by the door "and he knew that was what scared her." To effect the cure he did not cut, but fanned her with an eagle feather and "puffed." However, Maiyemai cured other types of sickness by cutting and sucking.

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[117] Another informant, B.J.A., from Fort Tejon claims that Dick Francisco was a winatum there.

[P. 48d] Koyeti

KOYETI

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One of Maiyemai's songs is given by Kroeber:[118]

lanaka nan-a
listen to me

mayèmai
[name of the composer of the song]

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge wehe

wè mukulau
we [turning]

hi sonolo wèhè
hi hand-feather-ornament wehe

756 Another important doctor, not a Koyeti, was Sapagai of Tejon. Another doctor, named Ci´č·n, killed Sapagai because he failed to cure someone.

About ceremonies little could be obtained from D.F. He knew the Doctors' Contest but doubted that it was ever made by the Koyeti at any time.

[551] Huhuna was danced (?) by a Yaudanchi man named Camsu´sa (a nickname meaning "many whiskers"). This man performed at Tejon and at Tule. D.F. claims he did not dance: "just tried to find money."[119] The costume was not intelligibly described, but D.F. thought Huhuna's face was covered. He "ran around by

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[118] The Yokuts Language, 367; given to Kroeber by Peter Christman, a Yaudanchi informant.

[119] D.F. may have meant that he did not dance as in the kma or do conventional dance steps.

[P. 49a] Koyeti

1756 himself and was shot at the end." The doctor who resuscitated huhuna was Toi´'is·k, but D.F. does not know if he was the one who "killed" him.

276 D.F. saw jimsonweed (ta´nai) taken at Fort Tejon; this was done in the early spring. Mashed jimsonweed roots were steeped in water and the decoction was drunk after about eight days' fast. It was taken by members of both sexes who were at least sixteen years old. But men and women did not drink it together. There was no "retreat" during the fast; the drinking

T Y 159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

T Y ● 756 ● Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi ´'in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

T Y 221 The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

T Y 621 131 When F.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena´ʷᵘ in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, ʿ´nᵘwao, was east of Čenaʷᵘ. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi´yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y 342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu´muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana´sʿts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight mats to cover a house. T Y [354] The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya´wʿl ti´'i; that covered with tule, pumuk ṭi´'i.[128]

T Y 343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

[P. 52b] Tubatulabl NS22

T Y 757 278 the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616 Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796 Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y ● 756 ● Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237 Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435] Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

T Y 276 796 [757] Jimsonweed (ta'nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

[P. 53b] Tubatulabal NS22

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saw the cause of sickness and with feathers would brush the sickness off a patient. A shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to one petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

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Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the setting of broken bones; while this painful work was done during the coma, the healing, which was said to take place in twelve days, was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

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F.M. knew but little about the acquisition of supernatural power. His few statements conform to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana´twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. F.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na´nek ma ana´təlhɨn).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi´'ɨt) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" emanated from this region. The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

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mentioned.[135] The "bullets" may be placed anywhere, as on a tree, and "they go off by themselves," or they are put in the mouth and spat out.

When the Shamans' Contest was made at Tule there was a "center position." In the last one held there the female shaman, Poi'ɨn, held this, and was blinded as a result during the contest.

Poi'ɨn's father, who was a Bankalachi, was not known as a professional shaman: "he might have had some power." She was the only woman doctor known to F.M. and S.G., save one now living on the south fork of Kern River; she was known to the Chunut, J.A., as Sukotɨts. She "thought about power [tɨpni] day and night until she dreamt." She married Čeče'ɨs, who was Wati´sti's father; but F.M. knows nothing about him. Her supernatural helper was not known to F.M.; she did not "handle" snakes. She taught Watisti all she knew; when he became a professional doctor she accompanied him, danced and sang, and received part of his payment. She was known as a "good doctor," was never suspected of killing anyone. Her son, however, achieved a bad reputation and, after her death, was finally killed in vengeance for the death of Wu´ni, a Yaudanchi chief.[136]

She once visited Wukchumni at Lemon Cove, where she cured S.G.

He was "poorly"; he had no specific pains, but his nose bled constantly and he had to stay in bed. Poi'ɨn was visiting there; she came to cure him. She did not cut, merely rubbed. She "called on all the big hills asking for their help." She had a "chicken" hawk's head and eagle-down string as talismans. These she dipped in a basket of water on which eagle down had been sprinkled. Then she rubbed them

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[135] This may be a reason for the reluctance about name-mention encountered here, but not elsewhere among Yokuts informants.

[136] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

[P. 54b] Tubatulabal NS22

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756 gently over S.G.'s head and body, working downward, and blew on his skin while it was still damp. Her curing paraphernalia she kept in a little net sack.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

T Y 796 668 At the time of the Ghost Dance F.M. was living at Tule rancheria. Along with everyone else, he walked up to Eshom Valley for the great dance there. A Yaudanchi winatum, Inoˊlya, told them to go up there because the dead were going to return. The messenger went on with his news to Sototlo, on southward to Bakersfield, and up Poso Creek.

At Eshom Valley, F.M. learned that the news had been brought from Dunlap. Of the singers who were there only Samson Dick is now alive; they did not teach their songs to anyone else [sic].

When they returned to Tule they had a dance of their own which lasted six days; this was the largest ever held in the southern part of the valley. They circled to the left; there were no prayers, "just songs." People painted their faces: popular patterns were, for men, T Y [302] two parallel horizontal lines of black and white across the upper cheek, and for women, two or three vertical rows of black, white, and red dots below the eyes. Body painting was not done. They danced all night, swam at daybreak, and rested during the day while the singers practised.

No dance was held at Sototlo, "it was too small a place." But "everyone" in the southern end of the valley came to this dance at Tule. Many people, especially those of Fort Tejon, came to live there permanently after the Ghost Dance episode.

756 It is to be noted that the infamous shaman
Watisti and his mother were among those at
Šiyedu. J.B. said "they danced the kam
[watiyod] there whenever they wanted to make
[535] money or the tia'a asked them to." Bill
Garfield sang for them. (See "Pleasure Dances"
for an account of this entertainment.) No
other dance or ritual was ever given at summer
camps. J.B. said that they all returned to
Diapnuša for the big mourning ceremony, that
there visitors could be accommodated and the
location was secluded from encroaching whites.
[177] Even in J.B.'s time at Šiyedu "there was no
place to pasture horses; all the land was taken
up by whites."

Of the village of Hoganu, J.B. could
621 recall only three families. The chief there was
Bise´ti, who was Muṭoñi's son by a woman named
542 Uyu´tskulu. He later married M.L. but the
couple continued to live with Biseti's mother
because "his father had gone to live with
another woman." In another house lived an old
man named Ču and his Wukchumni-Patwisha wife,
Šu´pač.

A daughter of Mutoñi, Lottie, by yet
another woman (a Waksachi and half-sister of
B.O.; she had eagle poša like Muṭoñi) also
lived at Hoganu. L. said that another named
Gaču´na was a contemporary chief with Muṭoñi.
The winatum at Hoganu was a Gawia named Wa´lai;
his wife too was a winatum, a Yaudanchi named
O´mo. L. said they had no children "because
Omo ate too much meat." (L. herself moved up
to Dunlap when she married an Entimbich; her
second husband was a Pitanisha [Tübatulabal].)

In Antelope Valley lived a chief named
Sodo´nto, who married J.P.'s grandmother.
Another chief, Ke´wɨč (John Davis) lived there,
and in a third house were relatives of Jim
Wilcox. This little hamlet was called Wo´kano.
Later Walai moved out there; and this chief
Sodonto may indeed be the chief Sodono who
previously lived at Diapnuša.

At Gutsnumi M.L.'s mother, mother's sister,
female parallel cousin (called elder sister),
her older brother, and her maternal grandmother
all lived in one house. When her father was
alive, her parents, brother, and self lived in
a house of their own. Her father's mother,
father's brother, and father's sisters all
[361] lived at Gutsnumi too, in various
establishments. M.L. said that often "uncles, brothers,
or cousins, would build their houses close
together." M.L. said that they lived at Gutsnumi
166 during the winter, but in summer went on
seed-gathering trips towards the plains. They would
222 stop at Hoganu and Yokol. "Families did not
have special places to hunt food, anyone went
423 with anyone else just as they wished." [A
slight exaggeration; M.L. herself said that
women quarreled over their claims to berry and
seed patches.] The Gawia did not care if the
Wukchumni came down for seeds, and they would
go up Wukchumni way for other kinds of seeds

[text continues on p. 59a]

622 The methods by which chiefs and shamans coöperated to their mutual benefit has been treated at length elsewhere.[227] For the Wukchumni, S.G.'s remarks will serve as a summary statement.

622 539 556 754 The chief (tia'a) always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money, he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the chosen victim belonged to another tribe, he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking him to have his doctor kill that man. If the chief accepted the money, he had his doctor start the process of sickening and killing the rich man. The money received was divided between the doctor and the two chiefs. Doctors who killed in this way made sure that the patient would finally send for them by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

We usually had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

622 756 A chief could himself be a shaman, as was J.P.'s grandfather, who was a snake-handler. But there is no instance of a chief being a regular curing shaman, the true doctor who cured or, when bad, caused sickness.

624 769 Subchief.--The Wukchumni and Yaudanchi had a type of secondary chief (tuye´'i) whose only function seemed to be to assist the head chiefs of a tribe at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Although three informants stated that the position was hereditary in the male line, they could not say what members of a subchief's family were called by the term tuye´'i, whether or not there was an invariable lineage totem (as Eagle for the chief), or specify any other duties than those mentioned below.

S.G. said that the tuye'i was a kind of secondary chief; the position "went in families" and could be held by either sex. The subchiefs "came behind" the tia'a and made up the deficit amount of money if there was a shortage in meeting the expenses of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Young male tuye'i of about ten years of age or over contributed.[228] If something happened to prevent a chief from presiding at the mourning ceremony, the subchiefs managed it and were the first served at meals. On the evening of the fifth day of the ceremony, the subchiefs gave a feast for the head chief or chiefs at which they presented these men with the money, baskets, and blankets.

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[227] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[228] This seems excessively young, for Yokuts culture does not provide a means of accruing money at such an age; 20 years would seem more probable.

624 **Shaman-killer**.--The person designated by
756 this term (hi'au'ta) was in no sense a clown,[232]
and it is doubtful if he should be included as
an official. The hi'auta was a man without
fear who usually attained this condition
through dreams of Falcon or Cougar. The
[683] hi'auta were called upon to rid the community
of an undesirable shaman who the chief agreed
should be killed.

The hi'auta was a desperado, he killed doctors. He had to kill on the first shot or get killed himself. The tia'a would send him out to get rid of a bad doctor. When the doctor set off on a trip the hi'auta followed him and killed him the first chance he got. There were three to five hi'auta in every tribe. They never did anything funny to make people laugh (S.G.).

He was a bad man and did not stop fighting until he had killed a man. He was not afraid to kill doctors (M.L.).

In my grandmother's time people did not laugh at doctors. But there was one [kind of] mean man that was not afraid to. He was called hi'auta -- "smarty." If he had a chance, he'd kill the doctor first, but if he didn't the doctor would give him a nosebleed [by supernatural means], or maybe kill him. They [hi' auta] always died quick, but sometimes doctors would give one a bad lingering sickness if he was extra mean (J.P.).

522 **Clown**.--There was no official clown among
the Yokuts. Persons of Coyote lineage clowned
624 at the Snake Ritual (quod vide), but this was a
matter of personal choice.

Directional Groupings

621 Division of the populace into totemic
moieties was not followed by the Wukchumni, al-
616 though they knew and used the moiety names of
the dichotomized tribes of the lake region. The
[184] terms, for the Wukchumni, were directional in-
dicators applied only to tribes; yet a sense of
opposition did result from this division into
"uplanders" and "lowlanders," just as with the
social moieties.

A formulation of this kind of geographical moiety and its functions was difficult to make owing to conflicting or confused statements of informants. After much discussion with M.L. and J.B. the facts below emerged free from doubt. The difference of opinion of J.P. and M.P. may be due to their lesser participation in the old life, when contact between the Wukchumni and the moiety-possessing tribes was closer, and their greater participation in the recent life with more contact with the nonmoietized Waksachi (Western Mono).

J.P. and M.P. claimed that they "didn't know anything about some kinds of pošas [totems]

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[232] Kroeber was informed that the hiauta (Yaudanchi) was a clown (ibid.)

[P. 98b] Wukchumni

616 619 assigned (eastside or westside), and as families arrive they are received by winatums and asked their provenience, so to say, before being told where to camp. J.B. said, "There was no dividing up [according to family totem] at a duniša (mourning ceremony) except among the tia'a. All the other people followed the tia'a of their own village."

574 769 616 The spatial arrangement at a mourning ceremony was roughly square: the hosts and recipients opposite each other, and the visitors at each end divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. The actual directions of east and west were not always followed as the spatial possibilities differed from village to village.

619 769 616 The second manifestation of this tribal moiety arrangement at the Annual Mourning Ceremony was in the Shamans' Contest, the opponents being divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich according to their tribal affiliations. To exemplify this, J.B. named several shamans whom 619 he had seen as contestants, giving their tribe, totem animal, and directional affiliation, as 756 follows:

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Nutuwich

Wukchumni: Či´čen (Rattlesnake); Ta´sow·k (Rattlesnake); Po´hač (Rattlesnake); Umiča´na (Rattlesnake).

Yaudanchi: Čamšu´šan (Magpie); J.B. added that this man was a curing doctor and Huhuna Dancer as well.

Choinimni: Pušl·l·n (Rattlesnake); Kapl·l·n (Rattlesnake).

Tokelyuwich

Telamni: Li´s·š (Owl); U´nun (Owl); Sa´pagai (Owl); "Winatum" (Owl); this man was a curing doctor, huhuna dancer, and winatum.

Yokod: Šut (Owl) [this is not in accord with his previous statement that the Yokod were Nutuwich].

Some other participants who were known merely as "southerners" to J.B. he classified thus: Maiye´mai and his brother, Po´sut, Tokelyuwich; Wati´sti and Andrés, Nutuwich.

616 825 756 When J.B.'s attention was called to the fact that his groupings, as given above, were aligned by totem animals (as well as by tribe), he claimed he could not recall any participants in the Shamans' Contest who had other animals as symbols. [It seems possible to me that shamans with the same totems may have stayed together and been assigned to one or the other side arbitrarily.] He admitted that totem animals could be grouped as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich and said this was done when non-moiety persons were visiting or participating with a moiety-divided tribe, as Wukchumni or Michahai with Choinimni or Telamni. According to J.B., if such a grouping must be made, "Eagle, Duck, and Owl were Tokelyuwich, Rattlesnake, Bear, Magpie, and Deer, Nutuwich. Dove, Weasel, Skunk, and Coyote could be on any side because they were chiefs' and doctors' helpers. Eagle

561 hiam pahata mukιs: growing girl, 8 to 10 years

hiam pahata wu´h'not: now big male, i.e., youth 10 to 20 years

goi´yuma: young girl or young matron (marriage not a factor), 10 to 20 years

witιp mi´tač gutum: "young man," literally, little real male, 20 to 40 years

hiam pahata mitač mukιs: young mature woman, 30 to 40 years

pahata gu´tum: full-grown male (referred specifically to Henry Lawrence, 40 to 50 years)

moho´do gu´tum: old man, 50 or over

modo´'o mu´kιs: old woman, past childbearing

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

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787 The informants S.G., J.P., M.P., M.L., and Tm.W. contributed to the general account in this section. The following introductory statement is from S.G.

> A doctor begins to practise a dream like a man would study a book. If he dreams, he goes out into the night and prays to his dream to help him. A man cannot be a doctor unless something tells him to be one. A man who dreams of curing somebody could be a doctor if he liked but he didn't have to do it. If a man wanted to stay ordinary he let his dreams pass, either because he didn't know how to ask their help or he didn't want to bother. Because if you start to get help you have to keep it up or you'll die. Haičača died because he made a mistake in practising.[248] If a man took his dream, he would fast all day and pray at night to his helper. In one or two years he might get enough power to cure. All that time he told nobody what he was trying to do.[249] He just kept dreaming and learning from his dream [helper], and only ate a little bit of food all the time.

Acquisition of Power

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778 When a boy was about the age of ten or a little older, his dreams became significant as a source of power. A lad might decide beforehand what sort of helper he wanted, Rattlesnake, Bear, Coyote, Owl, etc., and he would be instructed to keep his mind upon this until he achieved it. All young people were encouraged to secure some supernatural help to aid them throughout life. The rigorous bathing and abstemiousness imposed upon adolescents was an aid to this end. The cleansing of one's stomach with the tobacco emetic, a method used by adults, and constant praying were thought to induce regular dreaming. When the sought-for

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[248] J.P. also referred to this but I could get no account of his death.

[249] Did not tell publicly; he might confide in his parents or a helpful uncle or grandparent.

[P. 109 b] Wukchumni

787 to his sanctuary, he would swim in it either
776 going or returning. If the stream were small
778 or merely a spring the supplicant would
sprinkle some water on himself.

When he returned home he immediately went
to bed. If a dream helper came to him in ensuing
sleep and it was the one which was wanted,
it was cherished thereafter, and he prayed
specifically to this helper when in sickness or
in trouble. He might, if he felt inclined, go
out again occasionally and pray during the
night but "he needn't go so far this time." One
of the chief benefits derived from having
[754] supernatural power was the assurance of long
life for, if the person were in danger of being
"shot" by a malicious shaman, his soul or life
substance "would not be there [where his body
was] but away off on that hill where he had
gone to talk."

787 "What a man dreamed he kept right on him":
778 he kept a tangible talisman symbolic of the
supernatural helper. A curing doctor might
have many helpers, all the birds for example,
and he could call on one or more or all of
these to aid him when he was curing a patient.
He had a talisman for each one.

[828] A dream in the daytime was useless; nor
was one on a full stomach of any significance
(S.G.).

● 756 Although theoretically any one might seek
778 power by this means, and the dream was its only
787 source, there was a tendency for shamanism to
"run in families" just as there was for other
occupations, such as hunting, and for the same
reason: the children were better instructed
by their already successful parents. So my
informants argued, and the assumption is reasonable.
There was no inheritance of power, or
of a shaman's position or function.

Any person, man or woman, could seek dream
help and use it to help himself or his family.
Women, however, never became professional.
"There were none up Wukchumni way, there was
just one down south" [that S.G. had heard of,
probably the oft-mentioned Poi'·n].

[776] The dream helper was called ai´n·č (from
ana´ñatswad, to dream), as opposed to poša, the
lineage animal symbol acquired by kinship; the
same name was given the talisman representing
it.

787 Supernatural power (t·pni) bestowed by the
778 dream helper imbued a talisman symbolic of the
helper which every tutelary's protégé possessed.
A person might have several talismans representing
various helpers. But once a talisman
had been used to accomplish some act of curing,
it was necessary to have another dream of the
helper it symbolized to revitalize it, so to
say. The word for any talisman was wai´'ač, a
word which also meant "necklace" (a string of
beads or anything hanging from the neck; a
talisman was sometimes worn that way). The
word ain·č was more commonly used for a talisman
when it referred to the helper whose power

[P. 110 a] Wukchumni

787 778 was infusing it: the word wai'ač referred to the talisman merely as a material object. Although the material which constituted the talisman -- feathers, claws, or whatever -- might be bought, talismans themselves were never sold, once they became talismans. An
754 owner of one would fear its discovery by a
778 malicious shaman (they could be "heard" by powerful people and taken). Thus an ordinary person with private power, or a young shaman, might be forced to give up his talisman through fear of being sickened, should a shaman demand the object. A talisman so acquired could be used by its new possessor (see Anecdote 10, below).

787 Sometimes supernatural help came unsought in the following ways. Although J.P.'s ex-
778 amples are of Deer helpers, he said "any animal might act like that." Thus, if a man were
● 756 chasing a deer and the animal became exhausted, it might turn back and offer the hunter supernatural help to become a doctor. The man was under no compulsion to accept. Another way this might happen was for Deer to offer power to an abnormally successful hunter who had been killing many of these animals, until "they got tired of it." Then the head Deer (mets hoi) who lived in the deer cave[251] would go to the man in a dream and offer to make him a doctor, promising him great success and an assurance of wealth if he would cease hunting. The man might decline to become a shaman "but he would tell Deer that he would only kill one deer at a time after that and only when he needed it."

Dream Helpers

787 The special gifts bestowed by animals as
776 dream helpers are formulated in the following comments by informants. These powers are those randomly acquired by dreaming, not through a
825 lineage association.

Eagle.--Dreaming of Eagle only made people rich.[252] In no other way did Eagle help with dreams (S.G.). One did not ask him for general help in acquiring supernatural power, which might be expected from his chiefly position in the realm of birds and animals.

Falcon.--A person who had Falcon to help him could make a crowd quiet, just like a hawk makes chickens quiet. But Falcon was also dangerous as a helper: he sometimes made people wild, they would break out of any jail they were put in (S.G.).

Cougar.--A person who dreamed of Cougar, or especially of struggling with one, would get so much strength that he would not dare to hit anybody [lest he kill him]. Cougar would do one thing or the other: he made a man either

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[251] See section on hunting and treatment of deer; also Wobonuch account, Pt. II.

[252] That is, it could not make one a chief.

[P. 110 b] Wukchumni.

787 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted
776 to show he had power through Cougar would wear
the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew
825 (S.G.).

Antelope.--"The little yellow deer (ija hajɨt) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[253]

Deer.--If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl.--The horned owl (hutu´du) was the dream helper of the huhuna dancer. "He could see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous.--Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 All shamans had a collection of talismans,
778 which were usually kept in a sack of skin such
as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat
skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used
sometimes. This collection was not kept around
the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky
crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore
fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power
these outfits were burned or buried at the
owner's death. Only a relative who had at
least as much power as the deceased shaman
would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he
[764] tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he
would die. However, shamans were buried like
plain people; there was no special disposal.
[237] An essential to all curing equipment was eagle
down, both loose and rolled into cord; all
persons with ţɨpni power, whether professional
or not, wanted and used this material.

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure
headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart
trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and
fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and
[753] persons suffering from this usually cured
themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These
ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be
caused by the intrusions of some malignant
object which might have been sent by a malicious
shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended
supernatural animal or bird. The first cause
was regarded as the most probable, the last
was least likely.

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

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[253] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

If a person met a ghost (tawa´tsa) after
755 dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were
[827] caused by shamans. Pain was called ho´ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

● 756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress
regalia as when dancing: feather headdress,
535 weasel-skin wristlets,[254] down-strand skirt,
feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear
292 plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman
237 owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer
755 to accompany him and a winatum to assist him.
It was the privilege of anyone who wished or
522 dared to give a clowning pantomime of the
shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826]
[435]

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[254] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (aho'ot) skin.

754 poison is real or imaginary I could not dis-
789 cover.[255]

Airshot.--Shamans of any standing were believed capable of sending intrusive objects into other persons. Such objects were called by the word for arrowhead, tu´yoš, in English, "airshot." Properly speaking, airshot is the invisible shot which shamans used in the Shamans' Contest, but the English and native words are used loosely for all intrusive objects. These objects might be grains of sand, a beetle, a cougar's whisker, or a shaman's own beard hair, fingernails or seeds. "Some kinds of shot knocked you down while others hardly hurt at all. The same doctor could make [i.e., propel] different kinds" (S.G.).

All shamans used a basketry tray (tai'iwan,
[656 Wukchumni, bo´gtu, Patwisha), similar to the
285] woman's gambling tray but larger and handsomer,
as the basis or foundation from which the shot
was propelled. The shot was set off either
by blowing across the tray or slapping it face
downward on the ground.

The invisible airshot was derived from the
[821] sun. It was made from nothing (i'a´mči, lit.,
756 nothing). The shamans prayed to the sun,
grabbed toward it with the hands, and then
754 rubbed them on the tray where the shot appeared
789 looking like buckshot, fish eggs, seeds,
pebbles.[256] This all disappeared when the shamans again rubbed their hands over the tray.

According to J.P., this same airshot could
825 be transformed into living creatures. Thus a
shaman would "blow airshot off his tray and it
756 would change into an owl that went and talked
789 to the doctor's victim. Sometimes it would be
a coyote -- they are mean just like owl." While
754 owls and coyotes are the customary servants of
shamans, other informants indicated that these
were living animals, not magically created ones,
which were under shamans' commands.

756 *Transformation*.--The Wukchumni believed
that persons with supernatural power, not
789 necessarily shamans, could transform themselves
778 under conditions of great stress into the form
of their animal dream helper. (See Holoanči's
experience, above, and Anecdote 4, below.)

Bear transformation was believed possible
[613] for persons of the Bear lineage, provided they
had dreamed of Bear and had sufficient ṭ·pni to
accomplish it. Men did this, never women. It
was not a common practice and I could secure no
stories or anecdotes concerning it, and at
least one informant denied it *in toto*.

789 *Flying power*.--The power of flying through
space, while mentioned, was only incidental.
756 Thus in an escape, for example, the distressed
person suddenly found himself a safe distance
away from his threatened danger. The power

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[255] Vide J.P.'s experiences, Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 403.

[256] Whatever simile informants used in attempting to describe airshot, the common element was a granular aspect.

[P. 112b] Wukchumni

756
789 was not developed as a specific ability by Wukchumni shamans as it was with those of Western Mono.

Rain-making

No Wukchumni or Gawia had power to control weather, to the knowledge of present-day informants. The only person M.P. ever saw affect the weather was a doctor named Ela´mki who came up from Kern River. He visited her uncle, Haičača, who asked him to make rain. Elamki had a basket of water, and as he sang, he dipped the end of a special sort of stone in the water and with it sprinkled water in all directions. Then he picked up handfuls of earth and threw after the water. Then he lay down to sleep. He had been asked to make a hard rain. And so he did. It rained so hard that Haičača had to give Elamki a dollar and ask him to make it stop.

Killing of Shamans

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754 Shamans were feared because of their ability to cause sickness and death. Not only did they secure fees by this means, but by threats of misuse of their power were able to demand "gifts." Three anecdotes of malicious Wukchumni shamans have been previously published.[257]

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756 When a shaman was believed to be a public menace, the chief of the village of his victims would give those who wanted revenge permission to kill him. Usually the outranged relatives of the shaman's most recent victim would be the ones to do this; they might be joined by other avengers. Sometimes a man who was known for his reckless bravery (hi'auta) would be hired to do the killing. There was a risk even in killing a shaman, for his powerful ghost might return to do further harm.

683 Such killings, however, were not infrequent, and the shaman who lived above suspicion was fortunate. Apparently the desire for wealth and social power caused shamans to pursue their uneasy life. "Doctors did not like to hear shooting -- they always ran" (J.B.).

A typical account of a shaman's death was given by M.S., the Yaudanchi. Her mother remarried, this time to Ki´paṭ, a Patwisha [?] shaman. They all lived at Čihoi´li. Someone "from near Clovis" (Gashowu territory) had a grudge against Kipat and enlisted the aid of Košowi, an Entimbich shaman, for revenge. Košowi induced Kipat to drink a decoction of jimsonweed and, while the latter was in a stupefied condition, the aggrieved man came up and killed him. After Kipat was buried, a tremendous wind arose, so great that "it fright-

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[257] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 394-395, 403.

683 ened all the Indians. This was because Kipat
had so much ṭ·pni."

The Shaman's Cache

756 It was believed that most shamans had
778 private caches (pa´čki) where they kept not
only their sacred outfits of talismans, but
their wealth, and even the stuffed skins of
dead women adorned with beads and other valuable ornaments. The cache would be in a cliff
or rock pile; cracks indicated the door, which
[531] opened at the owner's command. The rocks were
usually painted; in fact, any rock with pictographs was thought to be a cache. A rock pile
in Drum Valley was shown me as a shaman's cache;
there was another at Hoganu.[258]

756 Both S.G. and M.P. described a big cache
778 near Gutsnumi which they said was in a big hill
known as Bell Bluff, called Čoiš·šiu (lit.,
823 dog place). This was on Kaweah River directly
opposite the old village site, now known as
[531] Terminus Beach, and was marked with pictographs.
(These I was unable to find; M.P.'s children,
who started as guides, became frightened and
ran home.) S.G. said that there were several
inner chambers "each as big as a house" and
that they were filled with native treasures
(baskets, beads, feather ornaments, etc.) and
female effigies of stuffed skins. When one
walked over the hill one could hear it was
hollow, "your footsteps sound different." S.G.
expressed apprehension lest the hill might some
day be dynamited, for if so, "all kinds of bad
diseases would fly out over the country."

825 M.P. had a frightening experience there
778 (hence her children's nervousness). The rocks
of the bluff are painted with pictographs, she
said, but she would not accompany me there.
539

756 Long ago her uncle warned her not to look at them as she would get sore eyes. Moreover there was a beautiful weird dog there which came out of the rocks to attack investigators. However, she and her cousin went down there one evening just at dusk. A ghost came out after them. They jumped to one side of the trail and "it went right by and on down the hill looking like fire." M.P. believed that the cross she was wearing at the time saved her. When the girls reached home the uncle chided them for going down there. He said that in that hill were [the skins of] beautiful boys and girls stuffed with tule, and each one had a basket of money. The shamans had eaten their flesh and liver. The dog which guarded the cache had a snake's body and human hands for feet. A white man once saw it, shot at it, and died the next morning.

The belief in these guardian dogs explains the common term for shamans' caches, wherever

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[258] Shown in Steward, Petroglyphs of California, 110-139, figs. 51, 52.

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778
825

[P. 113 b] Wukchumni;

756 located, Čoiš·šu (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

787 776 1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono´sa, dreamed of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ain·c" [dream helper].

[752] 2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[259] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake; he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

787 789 776 4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the special power of being invulnerable to bullets, having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off" [sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[260] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

756 789 5. The power of flying, known to northern neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by S.G.

237 A shaman from Kings River came down to a Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagle-down cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

756 787 6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

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[259] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[260] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

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754 7. J.B. accused Čokonɨk, a Choinimni shaman of great power, of making his son ill.[261] "He was a big doctor. He thought I had lots of money so he made my boy sick. He made him sick and then cured him." Čokonɨk used the sucking method; he exhibited a fingernail as the intrusive cause. During the treatment he talked to Owl, asking that tutelary to help him and telling Owl what he was going to do. He also rubbed the patient with a talisman (ainɨč). He was well paid with money and baskets.

755 8. M.P. lived with her maternal grandmother after her own mother died. Both women mourned deeply for this death. M.P. became very ill from prolonged crying and fasting. She developed a chronic headache and could not see. Her uncle called a shaman. When he [304] arrived, she was in a stupor. He cut her between the eyebrows,[262] at the back of the neck, and on the left breast. He sucked and extracted a lot of her own mother's hair from these wounds. The hair he wrapped around an eagle feather and then burned the whole thing. He explained that her mother had been trying to take her [to the afterworld], that the grandmother's continuous crying for her dead daughter had thus brought her back. Then M.P. was "able to get right up and eat."

[778] 9. M.P. had a headache on another occasion. The shaman who treated her [Haičača] had an owl head and a falcon head as talismans. He wet these in a small basket of water from Gutsnumi, which he kept calling on for help. He pressed the wet objects on her head and blew on it twice. Then he shook her head gently but rapidly back and forth. Then he cut between her eyes and sucked out "a little plain blood" which he burned.

756 10. The following affairs of Haičača were recounted by his niece, M.P.

Haičača (Jim Hangton) was one of M.P.'s maternal uncles. He became a shaman although his father was not one: Bear was their family totem. When he was young he did not eat any meat; he spent most of his time outdoors, away from the village, hunting. What game he brought home his grandmother skinned and cooked. The lad became hungry and asked for some meat, but his grandfather told him "not to look at meat, to just eat some acorn mush and go to bed." Haičača did as he was told.

During the night the old man poked the boy and his four brothers with a long pole, telling them to get up and go swimming as it was nearly morning. Sometimes he made them go in the middle of the night.[263] "The boys got awful tired of this."

756
787 Finally one night Haičača dreamed an enormous frog came to him. The frog said, "Hello, napaš [brother's son, w.s.]. I will be your guiya [paternal aunt]. I will help you when you need me." The next morning the boy told the grandfather his dream. He was sent to swim and then to hunt until the afternoon. When he came home, his grandmother gave him a little

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[261] J.A., a Chunut informant, also accused Čokonɨk of malpractice (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 395).

[262] The scars are visible, as they are on other informants who have been subjected to this method of curing.

[263] Note that all the boys were subjected to the rigorous night bathing but only one became a shaman.

756 acorn mush. He went swimming in the middle of
the ensuing night and then came home and slept
787 until dawn "when opod [sun] called him." He
swam again and ate a tiny piece of meat for
breakfast. Haičača continued this routine
until both his grandparents died.

After that he went to live "over Telamni
way." While there, he dreamed of Crow (ho´toi),
[778] who promised him aid "if he would only believe
in what he was dreaming." He secured a crow's
wing which, as a talisman (ainɩč), he kept
close to his person. About a month later a
shaman who came down from Dunlap engaged
Haičača in a gambling game. This doctor could
hear the crow talisman (hotoi ainɩč) singing
under Haičača's clothes: "It kept singing
[754] 'kah! kah! kah!'" The shaman demanded the talisman.
Haičača denied that he possessed one,
"but it was no use." The doctor threatened to
make him sick and kill him if he did not give
it up. So Haičača gave up the crow wing and he
cried for an entire week over the loss.

At about this time Haičača's mother's
756 cousin, whom he went to visit at Naranjo, gave
787 him some jerky. He took the meat home and ate
it. Soon his heart began to palpitate. He
754 started to go to Dohem [?], where he was working,
and after crossing the river he coughed
up blood. It was at Dohem that he had had his
first dream of Frog, and when he reached there
he vomited. He remembered his dream and called
on Frog to help him. Down at the spring where
he went to drink, a big frog came to him. The
man had lain down by the water and the frog
jumped on his stomach. At once he vomited an
object that "looked like blood all wrapped up
in coyote hair." Then a whole chorus of little
frogs came up around his feet and sang.
Haičača felt better at once and, rising, went
right back to Naranjo. His "uncle" ran off at
his approach and did not return until Haičača
left.

Subsequently Haičača went down to Tulare
to shear sheep. One night, while his vest was
hanging on his bed, someone put poison on the
shoulder of it. When he put on the garment,
his shoulder felt like fire. He kept the vest,
however, and a little later a woman "burned it
up for him." Instead of being cured, the
shoulder became worse; his shoulder, chest, and
finally arm, hand, and foot swelled up badly.
"He nearly died." How he was cured of this
ailment M.P. did not know, "unless by a Catholic
priest's prayer."

756 Haičača became a good doctor; "he never
hurt anybody." He would have taught M.P. to be
a doctor "if she had been a boy. There were
lots of women doctors south of Kern River."

[237] Haičača once cured M.P.'s husband, J.P.,
of a lame back. For this he used the eagle-head
talisman for rubbing. "Then he cut and
sucked out blood in the shape of two little
frogs."

596 11. The only case known to my informants
of a water creature serving as a family totem
613 (poša) was that of H.L.'s family. M.P. told
of it. H.L. himself is "master of Otter"
825 (naha´at). Neither H.L. nor his sister will
eat fish "because their father was sick for a
long time from fish."[264]

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[264] On the contrary, Fish, as his poša, cured him in both illnesses recounted. The statement is merely a case of inversion due to H.L.'s inadequate English.

755 Kawu was H.L.'s father and mother's cousin of M.P.; he was a Yauelmani. He was ill for a very long time, and a shaman who diagnosed his case said "that he had a water snake in his stomach that kept trying to get out through his navel." But the shaman was afraid tc cut deep enough to suck it out. Finally Kawu went up Kern River to a big waterfall called Kono'ɨ'lkɨn. Fish was his poša so he called on the fish to help him. He dived into a deep pool below the fall. While he was under the water a rainbow trout (epɨs) went down into his stomach. When Kawu returned home, he lay down outside his house and told his wife to tell everyone in the village to come near. This was done. Then his wife called to the fish, and it popped out of his mouth. Then Kawu sat up and told his friend, Noho'no, to cut the fish open and see what was in it. Inside the fish was a bloody water snake. "Kawu got well right away."

A little later on Kawu was bitten on the ankle by a rattlesnake. The snake fell over, stunned, on the ground. Said Kawu to the snake, "Why do you bite me? Do you want to kill me?" Then he ran to the river and, calling on his poša [Fish], jumped in. Immediately many trout came, sucked his wound, and saved him. The water was thick with fish. "He went home and sent everybody down to gig them."[265]

787 12. If an undesirable dream came to a person, he was privileged to ignore it. J.P. dreamed about an owl which told him he was going to be a curing doctor. But as J.P. did not want to be a doctor, "he didn't pay any attention to it."

13. Similarly J.P. rejected offers of Rattlesnake to make him a Rattlesnake shaman.

[756] J.P.'s grandfather was a Rattlesnake shaman, and this reptile was the family totem. "The snakes would only go to somebody whose ancestors were Rattlesnake people." J.P. dreamed of rattlesnakes many times. People wanted him to participate in the annual Rattlesnake Ritual that was held to prevent people from being bitten. He dreamed a rattlesnake came right up to his feet. It said to him, "When are you going to start that dancing?" And J.P. replied, "I am not going to start that dancing. I'm not going to handle you."

14. M.L. said that when she was young she dreamed about her future husband. Later she dreamed she was talking to her children and, as they grew up, this helped her to talk with and advise them. She added that in old times, when [178 262] the meat tabu was more strictly observed, an ill person would dream of something that would help him and he would begin to feel better. "That doesn't happen any more because people eat too much meat and grease."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

789 825 A woman going seed-gathering in the spring and summer would smear her forearms and legs

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[825] [265] There are a few other instances of a man's indifference to the killing or eating of his poša although he would not do either himself. The attitude of informants was that "it didn't matter," particularly if the animal involved was a common food (cf. Michahai and the winatum's pigeon booth, Pt. II).

535 ated it from all other pleasure dances, cannot
be said, as no informant could give the necessary details. For no ascertainable reason it is referred to in English as the "war dance." J.B.'s account follows.

Tepo´sa, a Wowol, and another man named Ana´ki, danced this at times of celebration, particularly at the close of a mourning ceremony. "It was only done at a very big fandango. Bob Bautista danced this any time to make money but that wasn't done in the old days."

The dancers wore the regulation feather
skirt and headdress. Teposa had his face painted entirely black; Anaki had one-half his face
black, the other side white. Both men had
[302] their bodies covered with short horizontal
white stripes. Two singers accompanied them,
[533] Ka´tai and Yawa´umi; they were Teposa's sister's
sons.

When it was the appointed time after a
535 mourning ceremony for a dance, such as the kam,
574 several dancers from visiting tribes would take
turns performing for an hour or so. In this
way a keen sense of competition was created and
the dancers catered to an appreciative audience.

535 The dancers who participated in the all-
night dance after a mourning ceremony were al-
765 ways doctors, according to J.P. They would be
[756] sought from among the visitors, as would be the
singers. There would be four to six men
dancers who stood in a row, while one woman
only stood in front of them. Whatever woman
was asked for this role had to comply, and she
would be given about ten cents (a half hista of
bead money) for doing it. "If she didn't know
how to dance, she just stood there until she
got her money and then ran off."

533 The singers used clapper accompaniment
534 (the cocoon rattle was used only for the Bear
Dance and Snake Ritual). There were three or
765 four of them. One man sat beside them and
collected the money for the dancers and singers;
a man who did this was termed winatum for the
541 time being. J.P. said that in the old days
"when the money was beads, it was so piled up
you couldn't carry it off in a blanket."

When a chief wanted to make money he would collect some dancers and singers and visit other villages, or often the performers themselves would go without a chief's sponsorship. Of course, they could not give an entertainment at any place visited without having the permission of the chief of that place. When a chief accompanied them as "manager," he collected the money and distributed it among the performers. The singers were invariably paid "because it is hard work to sing all night."

552 The name "war dance," which has become
attached to this shamans' pleasure dance (kam
535 or watiyod), J.P. regards as entirely due to
white persons' misunderstanding. No fight or

552 535 hostile intention was ever associated with this dance in practice or by tradition.

Watiyod

552 756 [534] The wa´tiyod was a dance performed by shamans for the entertainment of onlookers and for making money for themselves. Usually two or more women participated. The accompanying singers used the clapper (taowɨd). The dance could be made at any place at any season. While it was wholly profane in character, it was, nevertheless, performed only by doctors.

J.B.'s account is localized at Šiyedu, a Wukchumni seed-gathering camp.

This dance was done by Watišti (Watisti) and his mother Boyiwan (Poi'on).[266] This was the only "pleasure" dance they made and the only dance performed at the camp called Šiyedu. It was done every month or so, "whenever the doctor wanted to make a little money, or somebody else, like the tia'a, asked him to." Men, women, and children assembled to watch.

[302] Watisti wore the vertical feather and feather wreath headdress, a feather skirt, and carried feather bunches (wač´am) in each hand. His face was painted entirely black, and short perpendicular alternating black and white stripes covered his torso. Black and white stripes encircled his arms and legs.

[302] Poi'on, who danced with him, had eagle down glued across her forehead, wore a deerskin apron, and carried hand feathers. Her face bore alternate stripes of black and white running obliquely from beneath the eyes to the edge of the jawbone. Her body was unpainted.

535 533 Their accompanist was Ponato (Bill Garfield), who "always sang at Šiyedu." He wore no paint or ornaments, merely carrying his elderwood clapper. Beside him was a basketry tray on which spectators deposited small sums of money as payment. The singer received one-half the total amount.

Both dancers sang in unison with the singer. The man's step was the usual stamping with high-lifted knees. Although he remained nominally in the same place, he turned about facing this way and that at will. The woman kept her feet parallel, close together, and took sidewise jumps, moving her hands in unison and in the same direction as her feet. She covered more ground than her partner, although her movements were less facile.

The performance began at dark of a summer evening, about eight o'clock, and might continue until midnight. Each dance unit lasted three to five minutes, during which time the singer repeated the same song two or three times. Then there would be a rest, and then again another song and dancing for a few

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[266] See the Bankalachi account of these people who were "southerners" living at Šiyedu.

[P. 122 a] Wukchumni

796 koko´čo, koko´čo, koko´čo
539 [a very large fish]

533 tapa´psu, tapa´psu, tapa´psu
perch, perch, perch

The onlookers marked time with their hands or feet and sang continuously the burden:

ha´ho··'ho··', ha´ho·'ho·', ha´ho·'ho·'

The woman "patient" did not sing. Several more women would do the same thing. M.L. thought they were perhaps empowered by the doctor's mind, hypnotized so to say. [This fits with Kroeber's description of this rite as a "willing" or "wishing" one.] Then a man (ahaja´'amu añṭu, not translated) lay down groaning too. Neither in this nor in any other display had M.L. seen showers of fish appear.

796 M.P.'s description differs from this somewhat, and it may be that shamans differed in ● [756] the staging of their displays. She said that [184] the "fish doctor" performed in his own house, but that a partition of mats was arranged between himself and his audience. Two or three men participated, and men, women, and children looked on. M.P. said the one performance which she saw was in her childhood and she "wouldn't have been able to keep awake if it hadn't been so pretty."

The walls and partition were hung with beaver skins. The principal fish doctor danced and in a singing voice called out the name of every fishing camp and village along the river [Kaweah]. As he did this the beaver skins shook and little fish (ta´kɨt, minnow ?) dropped out of the skins. In some manner these fish fell over the other side of the partition on the shamans who "had to call for help there were so many of them." After this performance the "men and women ate all night" but what they ate M.P. did not know because she was sent to bed.

[825] I have used the term Beaver Dance for this ritual because the beaver skins seem to be an essential part of the performance and because the term fits with the Yokuts ritual series -- Bear, Snake, Seed-growing, Rain-making, Jimsonweed-drinking -- more appropriately than the correct but abstract name "wishing ceremony" (ohowish) used by Kroeber.[271] His 796 756 description of the rite is as follows:

> ...Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the ohowish medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such

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[271] Ibid., 507.

796 displays appear to be the kernel of the ceremony, which ends toward morning by the performing
756 shamans "fighting" one another magically.

Another display dance was mentioned by M.L. in which she danced with her shaman uncle Taisus. They sang song No. 5 (p.118), and then the shaman "made a mudhen come and fall in the fire."

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 [825] From no informant was I able to obtain a description of the Rattlesnake Ritual which in any way approximates that given by Kroeber for the Yaudanchi.[272] It was one of the native rites most frowned upon by missionaries and white settlers and has not been performed, even aberrantly, for many years. The reader is referred to Kroeber for a full account. My own summary and, in a few instances, supplementary data are given below. The only major differences in these are the absence of any "shaman-killer" (given as kuyohoch, obviously confused with hi'auta), and the presence of the Coyote clown, not mentioned in this connection by Kroeber.

This ritual, called šo´no, was made in the spring of each year, about April, always just prior to the snakes' emergence from their winter hibernation.

224 One of the participants at Diapnuša was J.P.'s maternal uncle, so J.P. went with him when he got his snake; both had snake poša. They went up to a rocky ledge on Diapnuša hill; J.P. sat down and watched. The uncle had with [534 237] him a flat tray (koiyoṭo), a bird-bone whistle (wa´hɨd or šo´ho), hawk down, a small stick, a long pole, and a willow cage (čo´mɨš). The tray, its surface covered with hawk down, was laid on the ground in front of the snake den. A rattlesnake came out and circled once around the tray. Uncle did not like it and told it to go back. Another came out. This was repeated six times. Each snake had taken one little piece of down. When the sixth and satisfactory snake came, it would not take a feather. Then Uncle told it to take one and it did. Then he circled his little stick over the snake's head. When it coiled, the tray was inverted over it, covering it with down. Uncle then picked up the snake in his hand, putting it in the wicker cage. He talked to it continually, telling it where it was going, that it was to participate in the Snake Ritual, and that it must not bite anyone. The cage was put on the end of the pole, and J.P. was allowed to carry it home. There it was hung in a tree until wanted.

796 The ritual was held in the afternoon in the village dance space. A vertical-sided pit

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[272] Ibid., 504-506.

[P. 125a] Western Mono NS25

Y
769 When the funds were accepted, the recipients
431 had the opportunity to indulge in trading on this one- to three-months' loan and
437 to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per
cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full
amount was not made up, as much as possible was
returned. The chief held the accounts, and as
much cash as possible was contributed by his
subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the
demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help
make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens
were not. If there was still a shortage of
Y actual money, it was equated in commodities.
Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get
[224] deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were
laughed at for always supplying ground
[558] squirrels on such occasions.) And women were
called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal.
However, these foods were not brought with the
money but were sent to the host tribe just before
the ceremony, and the hosts bought the
food as part of their needed supplies while the
money went over to the recipient tribe to help
meet the shortage. The collecting of food to
be sold in this manner was called ka´suwaš.

Y Another method of raising money was for
the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the
Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by
● [756] the host tribe, and while they retained part of
the payment for themselves, their singers, and
their winatums, a good portion (what percentage
I could not determine) went to their chief.

Furthermore, the gifts received at the
finale of the ceremony could be sold on the
spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment
on borrowed money.

This whole method of money exchange was
Y not necessarily carried out between tribes, but
might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourner,
to raise money, would lend sums to several
[426] individuals in order to receive interest from
each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in
Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money
at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Y

Reciprocity

769 The washing functions at the close of a
mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged
between certain families of certain tribes. But
while the actual washing was a between-family
function, the whole tribe of the washers was
Y regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe
M in the entire function.
769 The pairs of Wukchumni and Waksachi families
648 who stood in this reciprocal relation were
767 named by J.B., and corroboration of some of

[P. 128 a] Wukchumni

769 The Huhunata approached with mincing, half-
turning steps, trembling continuously, knocking
535 their own two sticks together and whistling a
high repeated note. They began to look for the
money, pointing to it with their sticks, and a
winatum disclosed it. Sometimes "even the wina-
tum could not find it so they had to dig it out
themselves." M.L. said she was frightened
when they drew near her. All the money they
found they kept in little skin sacks which hung
over their shoulders.

After all the money had been found, a
shaman (on this occasion, Ša´maka, a Wukchumni)
entered dressed in full regalia. He sat down
on the edge of the dance space. The chief gave
him a tray (tai´'iwan) and a winatum built a
fire beside him. The shaman rose, swung his
hand feather bunch (sonɨl) over the fire, then
held his tray up to the sun to get airshot.
Then he exposed it to the audience so all could
see the seedlike "bullets" adhering to it. The
winatum took the tray to one of the Huhuna and
"asked him if he wanted to die by it." The
Huhuna replied "that it was not strong enough."
So the shaman strengthened it, and on second
inspection Huhuna was satisfied. When the tray
was returned to the shaman, he banged it vio-
lently on the ground twice. Each time a
Huhuna "fell over dead." Two winatums carried
them to one side, and immediately the host
spectators came dragging long strands of money
[152] which the winatums threw over the prostrate
victims. Everyone present wept.

All the visiting Yokod sat down behind their men. Then a Yokod shaman entered, revived his two compatriots, and, making airshot at the fire, bowled over the Wukchumni shaman, who was in turn revived by a fellow shaman. The Huhunata received all the money thrown on them, but from this they had to pay their singers who had been singing for them throughout the performance. The local chief paid his own shamans for their part. J.P. said the affair lasted from about 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Shamans' Contest

756 The preliminary to the Shamans' Contest
789 was called gokosyu´n̂ɨt. It was a more or less
spontaneous affair and, if held at all, pre-
769 ceded the real contest as a sort of trial. The
entrants in this were said to be "warming up"
for the big contest. "Any kind" of shaman
might enter, but never Bear Dancers. In this
little contest a single powerful shaman would
sometimes take on two or three lesser ones.
This trial also permitted novices to test their
skill before entering the more dangerous fracas.

The Shamans' Contest (he´šwaš) was held on the fifth day [Friday] of the week of the

756 Annual Mourning Ceremony.[280] The contestants were aligned by tribe (J.P., M.L., and J.B.);
789 the two sides might be composed of shamans from different tribes (M.P., S.G., and Tm.W.). I am
769 inclined to accept the first opinion which I think not only represents the correct theory but was practically possible in the days before the decline of population. As indicated by J.B.'s lists (see "Reciprocity" above), a single tribe could provide several shamans at once. According to J.B. and M.L. these tribal
[616] alignments were further regarded as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (see p. 98) and the opposing sides took up western and eastern positions on the assembly space.

Within the dance space a number of fires were built in a row, one for each entrant, of whom there might be four to eight. Each shaman had a coiled basketry tray (tai'iwan) which he held in the smoke of his fire, then raised aloft, face outward, in his right hand and shook toward the sun. The sun's power caused the magic missiles called airshot (tu´yoš), "which looked like a bug or something," to appear on the tray. S.G. said that the airshot looked like buckshot. The doctors held their hands up to the sun, from which the airshot came, made grabbing motions, and then rubbed their hands together, thereby making the shot invisible. Sometimes the doctors would test their shot before entering the contest by propelling it at trees and shooting off pine needles, for example. S.G. thought that shamans never assisted each other in the process of shot-making, and no other informant implied that they did. It was customary for winatums to ask for a show of airshot from a shaman before permitting him to proceed in the contest. Theoretically this was to protect an unskilled shaman from exposing himself recklessly to injury, but it seems possible that the audience was equally desirous of getting its money's worth and did not wish to be duped by unfit entrants; all entrants were paid.

The contestants were all dressed in the shaman's usual regalia: feather crowns and plumes, swirling skirts of eagle-down cord tipped with bluejay or flicker feathers, wrist bands of weasel skin, feather bunches hanging from wrists, elbows, and knees, garlands of eagle-down cord looped like bandoleers, and quail-crest ear plugs (fig. 8, d).

On the end opposite the fires sat a group of singers using clappers and singing for both sides. They too wore feather headdresses and perhaps other ornaments which, I understand, were not infrequently borrowed.

The audience sat under the surrounding shades. Although betting on the winners was

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[171] [280] M.P.'s statement that it occurred on the last day after the ritual washing is perhaps due to her recollections of aberrant Waksachi practice, as the Wukchumni were reciprocants on the occasion of Waksachi mourning ceremonies (cf. Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

[P. 129 a] Wukchumni

756 heavy, there were no shouts or urgings from the onlookers as there were at games: the spectators watched in sober silence. 769

789 The shamans assembled in two groups at opposite ends of the assembly space. With them were youths and boys carrying "long poles, pieces of brush, or anything they wanted to grab" (J.P.). When ready, the shamans in single file, followed by their winatums and by the youths waving the poles, advanced toward the center. A man on each side would cry "Hu·'u·'o·'o·'o·'" three times, and the audience would respond three times with "A·'a·'a·h!". During the contest, the youths kept up a continuous explosive grunting while parading and a sort of "Oh'! oh'! oh'!". The two lines of contestants passed around each other in two arcs and came to a halt facing each other about thirty feet apart. The shamans were ranged in a single row while their more exuberant young cohorts remained behind at a safe distance. When the chief ordered them to start, all the shamans raised their trays in the air, shook them and, whirling so that their backs were turned to their opponents, slammed their trays face downward on the ground. Each time this was done a shot flew from the tray at a rival, and this was repeated until the rival fell unconscious or the aggressor himself fell a victim. As the men dropped they were carried off to a shade by two winatums who were paid by the host group (unless the shaman had a personal winatum to aid him). This magic bombardment continued until only two shamans remained on their feet. This crisis always seems to have been attained. They fought a long time; the best man was believed to have the greatest supernatural gifts. Such men remained to the last because of their ability to pick the air-shot off themselves at the very instant it hit, whereas others were knocked down. [826] The weasel-skin wristlets served as protectors of the vulnerable spot on the wrist; the weasels "swallowed" the shots. When one of this last pair finally fell, the victor staggered backward exhausted, and, assisted by winatums, reclined panting under a shade.

Now the host chief called his people together. His winatums collected money and gifts which were distributed to the chiefs of the tribes whose shamans had participated in the [152] contest. Everyone present was crying. "They cried and cried right up to the middle of the night" (J.P.).

In the meantime the injured shamans were being revived. A host winatum went to the winner and asked him to remove the shot from his fallen rival. J.P. maintained that they got doctors who had not participated to revive the others, but M.L., S.G., and J.B. claimed that each shaman in turn revived those men who had been his victims. The revival was accomplished by the brushing method of curing. A shaman took a feather from his headdress or

756 used his hand feather bunch to brush down the
body of the patient. A winatum held a tray be-
769 side him upon which the doctor shook or squeezed
789 off the granular airshot from the feathers. The
shot was taken away and burned.

M.L. and S.G. said that all the shamans were paid by the spectators who had thrown down their strings of bead money on a tray provided by a winatum, while the contestants lay unconscious. From this sum the shamans paid their singers and, if they had them, their own personal winatums. They also paid a good share to their chief.

In discussing the revivings, J.P. said
754 that at this time "chiefs would bribe each
756 other's doctors if they wanted to get rid of
one that was knocked out." If any of the magic
769 ammunition was permitted to remain in a victim,
"he died in about three days," or at best would
789 linger on for a month. This might be done then
deliberately, or the victim might be left totally unconscious with the claim that he could not be brought to.[281]

Corpse-Handlers' Dance

769 On the morning of the sixth day (Saturday)
the group of people known as tonočɨm who
767 handled corpses, supervised their burial, and
sang the funereal songs, had a little ritual of their own; it was the finale of the daily ritual singing and weeping. J.B. described this performance as he had witnessed it at Hoganu, a Wukchumni village.

There were about six or seven tonočɨm, Telamni, Wukchumni, and Entimbich,[282] some of them men, some women [that any of them were berdaches he denied]. A few regular singers (hide´tɨč) using cocoon rattles sat in the assembly space and sang while the tonočɨm approached in single file, the men leading. The men carried long poles in their right hands and had their faces painted black, whereas the women held both fists up before their shoulders, carried burden baskets on their backs, and wore wigs of long false human hair which trailed on the ground. The wig had no beak;[283] it was tied on with a band which passed around the forehead and the tumpline helped hold it in place. They danced past the visitors and lined up, while the active mourners lined up facing them with the payment for their services. As the tonočɨm danced and sang, along with the singer accompanists, the mourners threw the gifts, which were usually payment in kind rather than money, at

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[281] The full implications of this malpractice have been discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[282] The inclusion of Entimbich is very dubious and probably an interpolation due to J.B.'s many years of association with Entimbich at Dunlap. Possibly he meant Waksachi, if any Western Mono tonočɨm were present.

[283] As Kroeber describes for the Tachi (Handbook, 500).

769 laugh, play, and have a good time. The afternoon was devoted to games and dancing (see section on "Games").

769 During the afternoon the host chief and
his subchiefs (tuye'1) assembled to settle the
426 payment of debts for food supplied either by
visitors or by members of their own tribe.
This type of debt was called hočao´'ɩšna. Such a meeting would take place when the financing of any general tribal ceremony was necessary, not alone after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The chief made a set speech: "We must now pay off our debt" (soi´'inad mai hočao'išna mayɩn; lit., pay you debt our). To which the subchiefs answered: "We will dispose of our debt" (ama´mai du´haš hočao'ɩšna mayɩn; lit., we-will dispose-of debt our). Then the chief's winatum collected money from all, and the visiting chief's winatums accepted it for their chief who in turn distributed it among his own people. Any other persons who should be paid off at this time were given money by the host winatums. It not infrequently happened that chiefs, subchiefs, and members of the mourning tribe were completely insolvent after one of these affairs.

769 While daylight lasted the shamans of the host tribe danced, but in the evening, when fires illumined the assembly space, those of either the reciprocant or spectator tribes danced. This dancing was kept up all night or at least as long as the hosts were willing to pay for it to continue. No shaman danced and no singer sang for nothing on public occasions. The dance was the watiyod customarily given for entertainment at any time (see section on "Pleasure Dances").

The following morning another general breakfast was eaten and the visitors began leaving for home.

J.B.'s Account

769 J.B.'s account of the mourning ceremony
was curtailed and confused. It is given merely
● 756 because it differs in what may be some signifi-
cant respects from the descriptions by other
789 informants. He did not assign a definite order
to the series of ceremonies, but stated that
the Shamans' Contest took place every morning
of the week of the affair.

The Shamans' Contest he called ku´kesyu´ñɩt, saying that to kill by means of fire [?] or poison [?] was called kuku´siyɩč. Two doctors and a singer (uda´kɩč) took part. The singer with his clapper came [to the dance space] first. Each shaman had a winatum who built a fire for him. Then the shamans themselves came and each made airshot at his fire. They tried to kill each other. One of the shamans would be from a visiting tribe, and the people who came with him, i.e., his chief, singer, winatum, were always paid for the spectacle. "Any

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money
● 756 could have them go into this fight if they
liked."

789 The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only
at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville,
769 and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and
Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon to-
535 ward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday.
The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a
Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho´tɨs was also a
Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long
feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of
abalone shells (ṭu´dṭud) fastened over his eyes
[on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his
left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the
money he found.

After he had given the usual exhibition of money-finding, his winatum would tell him he was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this task was usually Čokonɨk, although J.B. had seen Ma´mɨḷ, a "Southerner" do it also. The shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him aside, then the shaman would restore him. For this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

The last, or Saturday, night of the cere-
769 mony the burning of images took place. This
was called ahana´ñɨt. Only the hosts took part;
the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in
the center of the dance space. The chief,
mourning families, and others proceeded around
[481] it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping
high and stamping. Women of the mourning
families carried the effigies of the dead
(woi´dowɨš) while both men and women carried
long poles to which were affixed baskets and
beads for the visitors. The poles were carried
[198] in one hand while the other hand patted the
mouth to produce a long ululation, long and
doleful rather than staccato, and the poles
were waved in the air. At the end of the
second circuit of the fire the mourners cast
the effigies on the fire. At the same time the
poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled
for the money and treasures; this part of the
ritual was called ka´mɨts. This custom of
[184] tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni,
Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas
the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western
Mono) kept the poles until the time of the
ritual washing when the gifts were presented to
the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177
668 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was
attributed by J.B. to Joi´joi, a Mono man, "a
796 Holkuma maybe," from the northeast.[284] "He went

[text continues on p.133]

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[284] The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

[P. 149 b] Choinimni

BURIAL

763 If it were thought a man would die within
616 a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the
764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

Meanwhile official buriers (tono´čɨm) had
764 dug a grave, and they came to carry away the
767 corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

The story of the man who followed his
765 wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W.,
773 and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on
302 women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

● 756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier times. However, in a sudden excess of confi-
[778] dence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he voluntarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In
[683] old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 To be a doctor you had to have a dream
787 (ana´tsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was

276

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is ɨn´tɨm. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

756 prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (šo´gən)
787 was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate
276 dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to;
P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a
denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was
[237] scattered at sacred moments at certain springs,
probably when prayers were being made.[23]

Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If
756 the patient did not improve, the practitioner
danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal),
and dreamed for further power. Sickness was
[754] caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send
something into one; this might be an insect,
or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi´yəs)
which they were said to manufacture.

753 Ghosts frequently caused sickness called
755 hoču´nač. The spirit of some dead man would
catch a victim after dark and insert a long
775 hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor
cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with
long audible inhalations and rapid brief exhalations. The hair he extracted might be "as long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one crazy (ale´ta), an ailment which doctors could not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

Poison (ta´wats, dead person ?) was dif-
754 ferentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was
"afraid of that and didn't want to talk about
it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning
was attributed to southern doctors. "After
[668] that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors
got mad when they got home. They danced all
one night and made poison. People got sick
all around."

An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was re-
755 lated by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself
cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor,
Səmti´wɨs.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be cut approximately over the uterus. She went home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" [i.e., no intrusive object], and the woman has continued to grow worse. Some people, for this reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith in his power. J.A. implied, however, that P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Səmtiwɨs (Bob of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of headaches he sucked out a "little white pointed thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attributed to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries shortly after giving birth to an infant.

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[23] Latta, op. cit., 38.

756 There was a doctor named Ho´datpa·na,[24]
791 who could dance and predict earthquakes. P.D.W.
was living at Kulušao in 1872. He remembers
the quake of that March, which preceded the
Ghost Dance episode. The cause of earthquakes
(pa´'an wokoi´aš, ground shake) he did not know,
but thought "the old people" probably knew.

755 A peculiar method of curing is given by Mayfield. "They [the doctors] would twist together some wormwood leaves and set them afire. With the glowing end of this firebrand a strip was burned along each side of the spinal column of the patient."[25] The purpose of this treatment is not explained.

VARIOUS DANCES AND CEREMONIES

535 Pleasure dance.--A dance (hɨ´šɨš na´mɨt)
performed largely by Choinimni, Entimbich, and
765 Wobonuch was described by J.B. He said "no one
to the south had this; the Wukchumni paid them
when they went down there as they had none of
their own," i.e., hɨšɨš namɨt dancers. It was
performed after the washing rite at a mourning
ceremony and at no other time.

The dance group was composed of four to six youths and two singers. Often two or three girls would take part. Besides the usual dance regalia the men wore quivers on their right shoulders and held bows in their hands. The women held a short stick (či´wɨt) between their hands. They stood at each end of the group of men or in front of them and swayed back and forth while the men engaged in a continuous trembling. The singers used clapper accompaniment.

The participants whom J.B. recalls were all Choinimni, he thinks. The dancers were Wa´tun (P.D.W., Pony Dick Watun), Ko´lon, and Sɨ´nči; the singers were Modu´ča and Wo´kuč. J.B. did not know the totem or occupation of any of these save P.D.W., who "was a winatum and doctor."

796 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
was taken about March. Both men and women
276 used it, women particularly if they were ill
from some unknown cause. Shamans took it but,
like others, only in the spring. It could be
taken each year if one wished.

The participant ate no meat for six days,
and then ate nothing at all for two more. But
[787] P.D.W. said even so, the jimsonweed should be
dreamed about and talked to before one dared
to take it. The night before the drinking the
participants went out alone and prayed saying,
"Tanai, you're going to doctor me. I don't
like to be this way."

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[24] A metathesis of Hopodno's name? Hopodno, in 1870, went as far north as Kings River on his weather-predicting tour (see Powers, Tribes of California, 372). The earthquake of 1872 may in some way be associated in P.D.W.'s early memories.

[25] Latta, op. cit., 40.

[P. 151 b] Choinimni

[783] Ceremonial washing was done on
the morning of the sixth day,[1] the Huhuna Dance
769 in the afternoon, after which the usual games
535 and pleasure dances were indulged in. This
arrangement may be quite correct, for the
Huhuna Dance appears here to be without "mourning"
significance and is nothing more than a
display. While it is unusual to have display
dances such as the Bear Dance and kam on the
first days, the program for these days was
somewhat plastic, even in the Kaweah River
area.

619 Reciprocity at mourning ceremonies was
769 primarily intertribal; secondarily, by moiety
opposition. Most frequently it was the Michahai
616 and Chukaimina who served the Choinimni as
"washers," but often the Aiticha and Wechihit
were the reciprocants.

769 A special camp was made with brush shelters
and shades. The winatums of the host tribe got wood and water for the visitors. Every morning and evening just before sunrise and sunset a group of singers went outside of the camp and sang mourning songs and wailed. The relatives of the deceased and any others dolefully inclined joined in. When the singers clapped their hands, the performance ceased. Some of the visitors played games during the day, but not the hosts, and sometimes "the old people felt too bad and cried all day."

During the first two or three days, it seems, the Bear Dance might be given in the day or evening "if the chief wanted it."

In the daytime or evening the kam also might be danced. Usually two Wechihit dancers, whose names P.D.W. did not recall, were the men who did this. They wore the usual ceremonial regalia.

769 On the fourth day the Shamans' Contest
(hɛ´šwaš) was held. So far as P.D.W.'s inco-
● 756 herent description can be followed, the contest
789 was essentially the same as elsewhere. It took
place in the early afternoon. There were four
doctors on each side, of whom Pušlɩlɩn and Kaplɩlɩn are the only ones remembered. In making their "airshot" (toiyəš) they used no fire, it "was just grabbed from the sun," although P.D.W. claimed no "talking to" [praying to] the sun was involved. As they made their seizing gestures from the sun toward their basketry trays on which the shot appeared, they exhaled heavily and jerkily, saying "hˣ! hˣ! hˣ!" The airshot "looked just like white fish eggs; it could be shot about 50 feet." The surviving doctor in the contest was always [?] Kaplɩlɩn.

769 The fifth night brought the climax of
crying and image burning. The "Cry Dance" was called aha´na. The mourning relatives, who had been in retirement during the day, made two excursions out to the central fire during the night, carrying with them the images or "dolls" (ta´wɩts nao´ša, dead made-like), which were not raised on poles. P.D.W. expressed puzzlement over the images and said he did not think

[1] [i.e., of the mourning ceremony.—Analyst]

[ER 156 b] Dumna

MOIETIES

616 The informant was quite unable to formulate the concept of the moiety or to describe its functions, although he recognized its presence in his culture. He claimed that he himself, his father, and his father's brother and sister were Nutuwich, and that his mother and his sister's son were Tokelyuwich, which is correct if moiety regulated marriage, as it probably did. He volunteered the following classification of animals, but claimed that vegetable foods and fish were not dichotomized, which does not agree with more reliable information from the neighboring Kechayi. 616 825

Tokelyuwich, west

ṭo´hɨl: eagle
ẇəhe´šut: cougar
a´luwəts: crow [blackbird?]
ho´toi: raven
humi´x: jackrabbit
na´čəč: rattlesnake
ṭe´'ɨl: rattlesnake, Gashowu
k̇o·lonki´: king snake
oi´u'i: roadrunner
tono´l: a large, red, wildcat
ṭe´pək: beaver
u´'wək: osprey (?), a diving bird,
white head, "catches fish
all the time"
wa´hat: crane
ši´kəl: ground squirrel

Nutuwich, east

hihi´'ina: horned owl
po´hiyon: Cooper's hawk
naho´'o: bear
čai´čai: bluejay
hoi: deer
hope´l: gopher snake
koto´nɨč: gopher snake, Gashowu
o´čoč: magpie
upla·li´: dove
čawaču: wildcat, smaller than tonol
naha´'ɨt: otter
šo´kšok: kingfisher
če´ha: dog
həts: condor

SHAMANISM

Curing

● 756 Persons who wanted supernatural power (ṭɨ´pni) acquired it by dreaming, swimming, and praying. When a significant dream (ana´ts) came, the person rose, went outdoors and prayed to that which had visited him in the dream. At dawn he went to swim, regardless of how cold it was. When B.W. was a small boy, his father carried him down to swim at the same time he did. Beyond this, B.W.'s description of the acquisition of power was quite incoherent. A doctor was called te´'is; B.W. claimed a´ñṭu was the Gashowu word.

[P. 157 9] Dumna

756 Of doctors, he said that in earlier times no doctor was bad because he feared "that the
754 people would get mad and kill him" [the statement itself indicates that there were evil doctors and that they were killed]. A bad doctor "had all kinds of poison; if he got mad he sent this at you." Such projection of poison could kill trees: a shaman would hit one and the following year it would be seared and dead.

A good doctor did not take money unless he was sure of curing his patient. If he was unsuccessful, he was expected to return the fee. [Naturally there must have been much difficulty in defining a cure in many types of sickness.]

796 A shaman's display dance was usually done outside. If such a performance were scheduled,
756 and it rained, the shaman took one or two singers and went into a dwelling house (samɨs), not into the sweat house (mos). As many spectators as could crowded in to watch him. This dance was probably comparable to the kam: B.W. could neither name nor describe it.

There was a prophetic and curing dance called mi´yɨn wa´tiyɨ to´se ("the to-tell dance") performed by several doctors. Sometimes as many as five doctors participated at once. People assembled at a big fire in the early evening. The doctors were there with their singers and winatums. Persons already ill were brought in and disposed near the fire. The doctors danced while the singers sang. Then they told who was going to be sick. They had a big basket of water [each had?] in which they dipped their hand feathers (wača´m), and brushed off the patients and the "patients-elect." "They blew the sickness away before it came." Onlookers would say, "Wihe´lɨt a´mam hača´ka'ɨč" ("doctoring-process him [does] good"). "A big doctor knew everything, especially about sickness that was far away. If we had those doctors now they could stop this flu [epidemic] we've been having."

755 The doctoring activities of the Choinimni, P.D.W., were witnessed and experienced by B.W. While doctoring B.W., P.D.W. sat in front of him. He could see the sickness. He sang:

oyo´wi ki·ka
ha´na·na·
ṭe´pi ni´hi ti (ṭɨpni)

(B.W. could not translate it; thought it meant he was asking ṭɨpni to help him.) P.D.W. sang this over continuously before and while he was cutting at painful spots. "A doctor could do
[177] nothing without singing to his tɨpni." The incisions were made with a piece of glass and the "sickness" sucked out. P.D.W.'s curing outfit
[237] consisted of the glass, magpie and owl feathers, and a weasel [?] head ornamented with beads. The day following this treatment B.W. "got up and walked all around" [cured].

[P. 157b] Dumna

755 Another doctor, "Dr. Baldy," a Gashowu, cut and sucked the chest of a baby who had pneumonia: "the white doctor had given it up." The next morning the baby was improved and recovered.

Bear Shamans

● 756 789 [184] Bear shamans, according to B.W., did not have anything to do with the acorn crop, as in the Central Foothills, but were persons who had dream power from Bear and used it for display and intimidation of others.

His brother (Nipɨč), Te´wus (Sam Smith) was a bear man and doctor. "He danced any time for show and to get money." The two men would walk somewhere at dusk to visit people; on the way, when they reached a big log, Tewus would turn himself into a bear. This frightened B.W. very much. At the display dances which Tewus gave he would dance in the fire without being burned. Sometimes one or two bears appeared and danced with him.

Once when Tewus was walking up a very steep hill toward a mining shaft, a huge boulder from above came rolling down and injured him badly. He was ill from five to six months. During that time three bears came each night to visit and to cure him. Tewus talked to them prayerfully and asked their help. He got well "because of those bears." (See the Kechayi version of this from E.M., below.)

Rain-making

756 789 B.W. said his father was a rain shaman. He would predict the weather: if he said it would rain no more for the season, people would then pay him to make it rain. However, he could make it rain for as long as he wished -- one week to a month. Then people paid him to make it stop. Women could not pound acorns when it rained, as the holes in their bedrock mortars were filled with water. He deliberately made rain to discomfit others and be paid, said B.W.

To do this, he donned the usual shamanistic regalia -- crown of feathers and feather skirt. He carried a wačam (a bunch of magpie feathers) in his hand, which he dipped into a large basket of water, sprinkling the water about. (Informant did not know if there was sprinkling in certain directions.) He "danced for three or four days, or all night." Then it rained soon. While the sprinkling was going on, B.W.'s brother sang for his father:

si· li ka´na·ha· (water)
[repeated six times]

ṭe·pɨn i te'i (ṭɨpni)

[P. 158 a] Dumna

756
789

ko´no·no·

si li ka´na˙ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se'el) and water (i´l·k) and supernatural power (t·pni).

[821] When there was a big rain and one wanted to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

775 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776 177 He conceived God as God (not t·pni or Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the ya˝y·l hawk and son of Eagle.

773 821 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Ya´ol·č, makes the [illegible] noise. "He can hit anything and smash it [illegible] He is mean. He makes all the big rai[illegible]en he hears the cries of a dog on eart[illegible]o is being beaten because of the rain, he makes the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of thunder being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiša´miu, spring, about February to April; hai'a´lu, summer, May to October; tomo´ksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

796 276 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summertime and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

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[42] Wobonuch and Chunut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

766 they saw a falcon's nest One of the boys was determined to go up and take the young; the other tried to dissuade him. The older boy started up anyway; the younger climbed more slowly, as he was afraid. Just then the parent birds returned and attacked the older boy. He was far up where there was no protection; the younger crouched behind some bushes. The birds beat at the boy until he lost his grip and fell down the face of the precipice. "He was a rag when he landed at the bottom." His companion crawled down and went after the seed-gatherers. They approached cautiously as they were all afraid of the angry birds. There was nothing could be done for the mangled lad, so the women put his remains in a carrying basket, dug a hole with their digging sticks, and buried the whole thing on the spot.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power and Curing

● 756 The doctoring profession ran in families: E.M. claimed the profession was always inherited. But this does not refer to an inheritance of power, which was not transferable, but to the mere fact that a doctor's son usually became a doctor and that, in tangible terms, he acquired the accumulated wealth in his father's cache (pa´čki). A son did not invariably become a shaman because his father was one; among several sons one might become a doctor. If no sons followed him, a shaman's cache was "lost forever" as no one else could touch it (see below).

776 The supernatural creatures helped only
members of the moiety with which they were associated.
616 For the Nutuwich moiety Horned Owl
756 and Bear were the "strongest" helpers; for
Tokelyuwich, Eagle was the "strongest." "Sometimes
Eagle would try to get a Nutuwich man and
he would die quick." [Apparently he would die
[823] whether he "accepted" or not.] Water was a
very powerful helper, and a large stream, like
the San Joaquin River, particularly so.

Women usually were not doctors. E.M.
756 remembers only one, Wojilit, who sang at funerals
[562] and with doctors in the sweat house dance.

At his death a shaman's outfit was burned,
or buried with him. If anyone else, even a
756 shaman's son, tried to use it, he would die.
764 Nothing was left to the son save the objects in
the pački which were pure wealth, not supernatural
talismans. It is not clear whether
these objects were those the father had secured
through his practice or whether they were
gifts bestowed by his animal helpers; probably
the former.

756 Doctor's cache.---It was thought that a
doctor's cache (pački) was always located in a
556 hill with a rock as a door. There was no mark
422 of ownership. After the shaman's son had received
his power, he could enter the pački at
will. He accomplished this by dancing outside

[P 169a] Kechayi

756 the door and calling on the name of his father
556 or grandfather, to whom the cave was supposed
to have belonged, and the door opened. Within
422 were baskets, money, feather ornaments, skins --
all valuable things. He could take anything he
wanted from the left side of the enclosure.
756 The right side was filled with articles that
belonged to his most ancient ancestors, and
556 these "had too much power." They served as
776 guardians of the place, for their power would
kill anyone who touched them. Thus, if a
778 stranger should succeed in entering the pački,
he would be afraid to take anything as he would
not know which ones he could safely touch [sic]
(see below, Čipit's death). After a doctor had
acquired much power, his helpers might tell him
to use some of the tabu things, "but if a doc-
tor did that he would get mean and care no more
for people or being a good doctor."

756 Procedure.--A man who wanted to become a
shaman would seek dreams from adolescence on.
787 When a supernatural helper visited him in a
dream, he rose and went out into the hills,
where he "lay down to dream some more." The
dream helper, usually a bird or animal, came to
him, gave him a song and instructions about
curing, and told him what talismans to use.
The man stayed out all day, fasting and talking
prayerfully to his assistant. As the man
dreamed more, his power increased; the "animals"
came more readily, so he was often away for
days at a time. It would be said of such a
man, "pana´nɨt a´mɨn časa´šti (coming his help-
er; če´saš, the supernatural helper, lit., dog).

When a man had dreamed sufficiently, all
756 the animals of his moiety gathered on a hill
near a [his father's ?] cache. The man was
787 there too, and the animals opened the pački,
825 telling him to enter. He stayed in there four
days. No one at home knew where he was, and
often people went out in search of him. While
he was in the pački the animals told him what
to do. They gave him more songs and danced
with him all night. They gave him his regalia:
"this just appeared on him, nobody knew where
it came from." Later on, when he needed more
things -- baskets, beads, or feathers -- he
would go back to the pački to get them. At the
end of four days the animals sent him out, but
instead of going home he remained in the hills
two more days [total, six]. The animals in-
structed him to do this as "he would die" if he
went home too soon.[69] When he did go home, he
made his first dance (Shaman's Debut), announc-
ing the beginning of his career. He did not
again dream of his helpers but called on them
when he needed their aid.

756 Shaman's debut.--When a man felt that his
power was sufficient (and usually he had tested

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[69] This is the pattern often found as a codicil to tales of supernatural experiences from the southern half of California. They must be told of at a certain time, usually not before six days have elapsed. (See Gayton and Newman, Myths, abstract 139, note 21.)

[P. 169 b] Kechayi

756 (it by making minor cures), he gave a public dance (a´nuṭun ti´ša) at which he cured a patient. This formal announcement of his professional status began with dancing in the sweat house. He wore all the usual regalia, and had one or two singers to sing for his dancing. Any man who wished might go in to watch, but women never entered. As he danced, his power talked to him and told him when it was time for him to go outside to continue the dancing and make the cure. This is the source of the name for the ritual, literally, "doctor's going-out" or "doctor's emergence." After his emergence he told, as he sang, of his supernatural experience. Then he cured the patient who was already there.

If a doctor did not wish to start his ritual inside the sweat house, he could begin outdoors, but in that case he had to have some older and established shaman dance with him.

At his debut and on later occasions a wise young man would be discreet about his disclosures concerning his supernatural power. To give the impression of having much power would engender jealousy among the older shamans, who might injure his power or even kill him.

756 789 A distinction was made between the doctor (a´ñṭu) who had to cut and suck in order to cure, and the doctor with power (mɨts añṭu, true, actual, great doctor) who cured with rubbing or brushing. The latter, whose course of training is given above, cured by dipping a weasel skin (ču´duñ) in water and stroking it over the patient. The sickness was squeezed from the skin onto a tray, removed by the doctor's winatum, and burned.

756 [535 778] There were no other special classes of doctors. Men with Bear power were regarded as dancers, not doctors, "though they had plenty of ṭɨpni."

In this connection E.M. said the Choinimni P.D.W. was sufficiently trained to do curing by rubbing as well as by cutting and sucking. Two years ago (1927) he had come to the Friant rancheria and given the ceremony for general preventative curing. They were expecting him to come again soon for the same purpose.

Fees.---A doctor who failed to cure would return the fee itself or objects of equal value. If a patient were very sick and obviously unlikely to recover, the doctor might refuse to take the case. If he had come from far away, he would be paid -- and he would accept -- something as recompense for his futile trip.

Sometimes a doctor would be killed for losing a patient. If the doctor were from another tribe, he and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the purpose of making a financial adjustment. During the discussion the bereaved persons "might get so mad they would kill the doctor and his chief right on the spot." [E.M. could not substantiate this with a case; it was "just what she had heard."]

[P. 170 a] Kechayi

754 Theoretically, there were no "bad" doctors in the San Joaquin River region. Those who made "poison" were said to be south of Kings River.

755 Cures.---The term for sickness in general was toiˊyoti·yaš heˊba (night into [?] blood). E.M. could not describe specific sicknesses and their cures. Usually the doctor cut and sucked, drawing out a pebble or "button," which was exhibited.

Once a Chukchansi woman, Saiˊhu, went out to gather milkweed. Soon she got sick; her throat was sore. "That bush had made her sick." The shaman Čokonɨk sucked at her clavicle and produced a worm that had come from the bush.

753 755 Consumption, saneˊnaš, was due to "not growing right from the start" or, if the symptom of coughing blood was present, it was thought to be caused by a doctor. There was no cure for this "though the doctors always tried everything."

787 Dreams of the dead caused sickness.

753

769 755 Long ago E.M. dreamed constantly of her dead mother and sister. A Kechayi doctor, Wewuˊki (Old Dick) was sent for. He was Tokelyuwich, but he could cure people of either moiety. He told everyone in the village to assemble for an all-night ceremony for the dead. With a cocoon rattle he sang for a very long time. Then he asked everyone there to tell their dreams about dead people. When it was E.M.'s turn, she told hers. He put ashes on her head, as he had done for the others, and called out the names of the dead who were bothering her. He told them to go away and never come back to bother the living. Then he blew the ashes off her head. Never again did she dream of the dead.

● 756 This doctor did not do any other kind of curing: "he was ṭɨpni by dead people." Both his parents were Tokelyuwich.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Dreams

778 157 E.M.'s brother, Haiʼaiʼɨč, had power from Bear; he was reckless and liked to make spectacular use of it.

273

Once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear; he pretended to jump into the fire. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away.

[P. 170 b] Kechayi

778 825 157 273 On another occasion he wanted to get something to drink, and went to kumku´mɨč (hummingbird place) where there was a little saloon. He came back, drinking along the way, and finally fell by the roadside. While he was unconscious, two bears came. They said, "Let us pack this man to our den." They took him home and kept him all night. When he woke in the morning he was frightened. The bears were dancing; they told him to join, and all danced together for some time. At last they let him go, but told him to be sure to return in four days. As soon as the door opened "he ran out as fast as he could and never went back."

756 556 422 When talking of the doctor's cache or pački E.M. was asked if she had ever seen any of the objects said to be in them. She told the following story.

Long ago E.M. and her mother went blackberrying in the direction of Kings River. The old woman was taken with an acute diarrhea, and died about one week after her return home. At that time E.M.'s brother Hai'ai'ɨč was "just beginning to get his power." He had gone up to visit the Chukchansi, but he knew by supernatural means what was happening at home, so returned. But his mother died before his arrival.
[764] Then he went to his father's pački and brought back a large handsome basket. This he placed over his mother's head, and he talked, saying where he had got the basket and that it was to be buried with her. This was the only object that E.M. ever saw which she definitely knew [sic] was from a pački.

756 556 To illustrate the danger of a layman entering a pački she related the following.

422 753 E.M.'s paternal grandfather, Čipɨt, and his wife went out to dig roots. The old man went toward his father's pački. Though he was not a shaman, he danced in front of it and called to his father. The door opened a wee bit. He squeezed in and saw the wealth: he put a koikoi belt around his waist and strings of humna around his neck; he took many baskets. He returned to his wife and hung beads on her. They took these things home. Immediately Čipɨt fell ill. His face and eyes became swollen, a rash covered his body. He died in six days. He was a plain man and had tampered with power.

787 Another old man who was not a shaman but had a dream helper was Wu´'us, "another grandfather" [great uncle?] of E.M.

When E.M. was young, the children were very fond of this old man, they played around him frequently at his house. On one very foggy morning he told them to run outside because he was going to die. The fog cleared suddenly and Wu'us rose to walk around a bit. He fell down dead. Live oak was his power; it had told him he was going to die that day.

[P. 171 a] Kechayi

787 756 ● Plain people who did not seek to become doctors were sometimes visited by dreams of a supernatural helper. Often they did not know what procedure to follow to accept the proffered power, or possibly, even knowing the procedure, they did not want to go through the period of apprenticeship to follow the shamanistic calling.

787 It was difficult and, strictly speaking, impossible to define in native terms the distinction between a supernaturally significant dream and an ordinary one. Both types were called anaˊtsawu. Even ordinary dreams were thought to have some prophetic value, which E.M. exemplified as follows.

A dream of winning at a game means winning in reality.

If one dreamed of dying he would rise exceptionally early, go to a creek or spring and say to the water, "Don't take me yet. Let me live a long life." Water had immortality and the power to bestow it.

Dreaming of quarreling with a friend would cause or permit one to chide the friend about it next day. Sometimes such dreams would lead to accusations of enmity between people who were in wholly peaceful relation. Dreams were usually told to the persons appearing in them under any circumstances.

Dreams of reversals, precipitous falling, or loss of teeth were unknown to E.M. (but see below).

[777] It was not customary to seek dreams as omens with respect to some specific project; however, a fortuitous dream of ill luck would probably cause a person to change his plans.

828 774 787 E.M. could not define the nature of dream experience. She knew of no word for soul, did not recognize the concept. She willingly related the following dreams, which all date from her early life.

787

1. E.M.'s mother once went off for several days and left her alone. She was scared and nervous by herself. One night she dreamed that her mother returned, which made her very happy for she knew her mother was coming. She did return the next day. When she came, E.M. told her of the dream. [It was not necessary to tell; it was done for the emotional pleasure involved in recounting it.]

2. Once E.M. dreamed she was a dove. She was on a hilltop and tried to fly from there, for she felt just as if she had wings. Twice she succeeded in leaving the hilltop but both times fell down [with no sense of shock, however]. When she woke up she said to herself, "What did I want to do that for?" The next morning she told her mother of the dream, and was advised not to eat dove meat. But E.M. did not "believe" the dream [did not want to accept supernatural aid] and did not observe this or any other tabu, and no harm resulted.

[P. 172a] Kechayi

BELIEFS

773 **Wainus**.--This was a great serpent, large
825 enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force [ṭɨpni]. The wainus inhabited almost any lo-
[756] cality but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭɨpni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

787 **Ghost-wailer**.--Long ago a "ghost-thing," an old woman, would wail in the evening. People
775 went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

801 **Ritual or lucky number**.--E.M. was not conscious of any personal preference among numbers,
777 nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

773 **Flood**.--When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One can still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

796 **Pleasure dance**.--This dance (hɨčɨ´šna) was a favorite performance for evening enter-
756 tainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be
535 given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata´mɨš [?]) who used the clapper (ta´wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were: Čokonɨk and Ha´tɨš, the shamans, and Ke´mas and Ku´ba´ldɨč, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other

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[71] Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72] There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
756 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
carried hand feathers (sonɨl) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I).
535 All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these
[616] E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side
dancing, each with a woman directly behind him.
Then the six men filed in and danced around the
fire, the doctors and women remaining in one
place near it. The men used the "piston-rod"
step, the women a hop with feet placed close
[533] together. The songs for this dance were from
a special cycle which was not used on other occasions,
but what they were about E.M. could
not say.

535 Sweat house dance.--This dance (mosla´os-aho)
[343] is called by the name because it starts in
the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
756 So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in
the nature of the performance inside and out.
"The dance was started inside and then went
outside where everyone could see because Eagle
told the dancers they must dance indoors before
going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This
dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female
dancers who might be of either moiety. The
women were Ši´lat and Wojilɨt (the corpse-handler)
[237] (E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual
breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers
wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped
around their waists, arms, and heads. The head-band
535 was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich participants
756 were supposed to look like Eagle; their
faces were painted solid red with white dots
302 scattered over it and three horizontal white
616 stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers
had red faces with black spots, and a black
area all around the mouth. Men and women were
painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start
in the sweat house were the women participants.
People crowded around, not all could get in,
and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.--This dance was called no´'ɨn
ka´ma. Two Kechayi [Dumna?] brothers, Go´hɨl
796 and Te'e´wus, had power from Bear (noho'ɨn
ṭɨpni). They were not regarded as doctors,
just men with a specific kind of supernatural
power. Their dance was obviously comparable
in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
[184] winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni
Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling
display and in its lack of relation to the
acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear
would tell the dancer to go far back in the
mountains. There two bears would come to him
during the night and hug him to protect him
from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights
and danced by himself. Then when he came in he
danced publicly at night. Later the informant

535 said this was danced at any ceremony if asked
796 for.

E.M. saw Gohɨl and another Bear dancer
named Jo´nɨš do the dance. They wore the verti-
cal feather ču on their heads, bear paws on
[237 their chests. The whole bear skin was not
used. Brown paint covered their faces, and
302] black was put around or over the upper lip "to
look like Bear," and covered their arms and
bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the
first, they took turns: one sang while the
other danced and vice versa. On the second,
they both sang and danced together. There was
no change in dress or dancing on the second
night. The cocoon rattle (ša´nači) was used in
accompaniment. The actual dance was very short,
"like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step.
It was done twice only by each performer. Then
they pretended to dance into the fire and
796 frightened people. They turned into bears as
535 they danced, but Čokonɨk's daughter, who some-
789 times danced with them, did not undergo trans-
formation.

E.M. said Gohɨl turned into a bear some-
times, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse."
He transformed himself and danced around the
fire and "went around the country scaring
people." (See anecdotes about Hai´hai'ɨč, an-
other Bear dancer.)

796 Coyote dancing.--At some time during
pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the
522 ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a charac-
616 ter representing Coyote gave a clownish per-
formance. E.M. did not remember the name of
any man who did this, but said he must have
been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin,
[302] cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back,
with the head at his head, and tail at his but-
tocks. Paint was applied to his face and body
[786] "any way just to be funny." His antics in-
cluded yowling like a coyote, jumping about,
grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and
making obscene advances toward young girls.

796 Beaver Dance.--E.M. had heard of a dance
done "before her day" over at Owo´niu. The
789 doctors made fish with red heads appear; these,
however, could be seen only by other doctors.
● 756 The shaman making this ceremony "danced half
the night. When the power was coming it made
787 them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.--This E.M. saw Čokonɨk do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

789 Rain-making.--A doctor from Kings River
was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

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[73] Cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

796 around" before falling unconscious. Some per-
276 sons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve
narcosis. As each person fell he was carried
into the shade. Winatums watched them to see
that they did not injure themselves as they
grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began
[755] to mumble, they made grabbing motions with
their hands, they would not keep still. They
saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week,
[262] but all participants remained on an acorn soup
(limɨn) diet for twelve days.

[757] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known
to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The chief set the date for this ceremony
(luni´ša) twelve days before it was to take
[624] place. His winatum went around to announce it,
particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe
(gi·'i) which, for the Kechayi, was always the
[616] Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising
the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the
moieties combined in this affair, which was
primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·'i for
the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta´owɨč ano´ša) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu´sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was
[237] dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A
net covered his face and head, on which, over
his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs.
He carried a stick in each hand. By means of
his supernatural power he found hidden money.

He came into the dance space, circled
769 about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As
789 Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot"
by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum
carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side.
Everyone wept, and the women present filed past
the prostrate form throwing money and seeds
over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čuku´ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

769 Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M.
could not or would not describe this coherently.
756 The reticence may have been due to the fact

[P. 174 b] Kechayi

769 that her maternal grandfather, Pe´biyu, was a
756 participant. There were usually "four or five
● doctors on each side." The fires for their
"airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some
people cried while this was going on but they
didn't have to."

Crying ritual.--This rite (yuya´hixo) was
769 performed on the night of the fifth day. The
152 reciprocal tribe had their winatum build a
large fire. Four times during the night the
mourners filed in and around the fire. The
[532] chief mourners carried effigy dolls represent-
ing their deceased relatives; these were dis-
tinguished by sex, and a man carried a male doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners carried baskets, beads, and objects of value. While they were marching around, the visiting spokesman (yate'ᵼč) rose and said, "Cry! This is the last time you will cry for a long time." After the fourth circuit of the fire had been made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies, stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads, feathers], which were distributed among the visitors, and burned them.

Washing ritual.--This duty (ᵼpla´oša) was
769 reciprocal by moiety.[75] First a woman from the
783 visiting chief's family washed the face of the
mourning chief: these two persons were of op-
posite moieties. Then the others were washed,
[616] each family by some other family of the oppo-
site moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourning families had with them money or food which they gave the washers, and in turn received new clothes.

Celebration.--Thereafter all tabus were
769 lifted from the mourners and the rest of the
day and night was spent in feasting, games, and dancing. At night a dance would be made by some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt, wearing vertical head feathers, feather bracelets, carrying "hand feathers," and having white paint on his body.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi
669 participation in the Ghost Dance has been pub-
lished in full elsewhere;[76] a summary statement
will suffice here.

The Ghost Dance (soiwiša kam, round dance;
[177] abbreviatedly called su´yu) was introduced to
the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [sic]
named Čuičui (Joijoi), and a Western Mono (Pajo''oj) companion. They urged everyone to come because "the father" and all the dead relatives would appear, and further, anyone who did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

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[75] Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement, that if both T and N were mourning, the Choinimni came too, "because the Posgisa were gi´'i only for the Kechayi Nutuwich."

[76] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

[P. 205 9] Chukchansi

755 about two weeks, then took the child home. Although N.W. wanted to pay Mota $20.00 for his services, he refused to take it because he had failed.

J.R.'s only statement concerning curing was as follows. A doctor sucks out blood, or just goes through the motions without drawing blood. He looks at the sun. He finds out what is in the patient's body, causing the illness, then announces this [publicly ?]. He was paid about $20.00.

754 768 When sickness resulted in death for several occupants of a house, said N.W., it was believed that a shaman "had put something there to kill them." Thereupon the survivors moved out, and others, even people from other communities, were warned not to enter it. The house was not destroyed, nor did neighbors move away. The informant did not know what was the nature of the destructive force about the house, only that the shaman "would have said some words." Before actually moving, the family would pay the shaman to remove the spell but, if he hated them, he would not do so. If the family themselves failed, no one else would attempt to purify the house. A family would not move, however, until several in it had died under suspicious circumstances; they waited until only one or two were left. The refugees would then live with relatives or friends until they could erect or secure a new house.

754 Once a shaman sickened this entire community [Picayune ?]. He set up a stick on the top of a near-by hill and talked to it. He wanted everyone to be sick, which they were. The stricken people pooled their money and asked him to remove the stick. No one dared approach the stick or even look at it. That shaman received beads, baskets, and rabbitskin blankets: he took away the stick.[143]

756 Payment was made to a doctor at the time he was asked to attend a case: "If you didn't pay, they wouldn't come to make you well." Some doctors, more scrupulous than others, returned all or part of the payment if their efforts failed. But some would keep it -- "just like white doctors do when their patients die." Some shamans deliberately caused sickness, killed others by means of their power; those who did not were "good" doctors.

Curing Shamans

According to N.W. there were but two types [791] of shamans recognized by the Chukchansi, curing shamans and rain shamans. The curing shamans were divided into two classes, those who could suck out blood and the accompanying cause of

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[143] The shaman's name was not known. The event occurred when only a few whites were in the neighborhood: the Ekker family was at Coarse Gold, but not the Krohns.

756 illness without cutting, and those who resorted
to cutting to accomplish the same end. Curing
shamans treated such things as snake bites and
bruises, as well as illnesses caused by ghosts
or intrusion of objects "shot" by shamans, or
other ailments due to obscure causes. Broken
[752] bones were bandaged [by a shaman ?] but "they
[shamans] would not try to do something about
that" [by sucking]. Kroeber states that the
Chukchansi shaman was called teish, "maker";
possibly this term applied to the rain shaman
rather than the doctor.[144]

756 Acquisition of curing power came through
dreaming of a supernatural helper, usually an
787 animal. Any animal might direct a shaman:
"They believe in all kinds of animals -- snake,
bear, squirrels, coyotes." The animal came unsought and sang a song; if the dreamer accepted the offer of power, he sang the song himself. The repetition of the song formed a bond, so to say, whereby the man and the tutelary became subject to each other's power. The animal was subject in the sense that his living counterpart of the fields -- snake, weasel, coyote, etc. -- was controlled by the shaman. But an offended or perhaps capricious tutelary could cause the empowered man to act against his better feelings (thus Xatali and his victimized grandchildren). On the other hand, said N.W., "A doctor might dream he would have to tell a snake to go bite someone, and the snake would have to do it." This informant tended to lay the blame for a doctor's social activities upon the tutelary, once a man fell under its control: "That is the way Indian doctors do; if they didn't listen, they wouldn't have anything like that happen." Even today dream helpers appear, but the young people do not want to accept them. Neither are they willing to propitiate with gifts the few remaining shamans. However, N.W. said she would [does ?] because she "wants to live just as long as they do."

N.W. herself knows the temptation from an animal helper's offer for she was repeatedly importuned by a gopher snake.

A large gopher snake about four or five inches thick appeared to N.W. every night for about a week. And each day, wherever she went -- to pick wild onions or do anything -- she would see him. But each time she said "No"; she did not want to be a doctor. Every time she pounded acorns he would whistle at her. He was on a rock she was sitting on. She would pick up her pestle and look around for the creature but she always looked in the wrong place. Every time she lifted her pestle he would whistle; he did this about three times. She turned and looked up the hill instead of at the rock where she was sitting. Right then he whistled again. Then she looked down and saw him. She reached for a handful of acorn

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[144] Handbook, 511; see also p. 516 for a further reference to Chukchansi shamans.

756 meal, threw it in the snake's face and told him
to go home. She then filled up his hole with
787 stones "so he couldn't come out again."

That night she dreamed again of the gopher snake. He sang a song and told her to sing it. It was very pretty, but she resisted. The snake was angry and demanded that she give him her children [the two living ones]. Then N.W. told him to go away, not to ask her anything again "no matter how good a song he sang." Next night when she went to sleep she didn't dream; the snake did not bother her again.

If she had listened to the snake she would have lost all her children. "That is the way Indian doctors do. If they didn't listen they wouldn't have anything like that [injuring others] happen. Coyote made Xatali do things because of dreams. He dreamed it and he had to do it."

Dreams were not sought. The majority of people did not want them and hence did not attempt to secure supernatural power [as was done by Yokuts to the south]. "It just happened. You dreamed and the animal sang something pretty and then made you sing it." N.W. liked the song sung to her, too, and wanted to sing it, but the gopher snake "asked her for her children right away so she said no." Had he not been so precipitous with the evil demand, she probably would have sung it. Then she would have been in his power. He would have shown her how to do things "just like you show a little girl how to do embroidery or crocheting."

An animal helper for supernatural power was obtained through dreaming, said J.R. It was as if one saw them with his own eyes, but one saw them with his heart [sic; soul. -- A.H.G.]. The dream usually came near dawn. When it left, the dreamer wakened at once and, following the animal's [stereotyped] instructions, went to bathe in cold water -- the creek or some spring. This would be about the time the morning star appeared. The man went to the water and there began a prayerful discourse, saying that he believed all that the animal had told him, asking that the tutelary would continue his dream visitations and that he, the protégé, would be a good shaman. If all went well, the dream animal returned every night for about a month, perhaps a little more or sometimes less.

No person told the novice anything: his dream helper told him everything. He would learn the song the animal sang. Later, when the man had learned more and understood better, he too would sing it. When he had learned all that was possible, the tutelary would tell him so. Then he could go out publicly, perhaps to some ceremony, and sing. This he would do at a chief's request, for it was no secret that he had been acquiring power by dreaming. When there were many people present, the man would sing his song. After that, after all the [p. 206 b] Chukchansi

756 people heard him sing, everybody would know he was a doctor.

787 The shaman's debut was described by J.R. When a man was ready to announce his profession, he would sing his song at a public gathering. (Not a special gathering, apparently, but at any meeting when the chief would ask him.) After it was public knowledge that a certain man had acquired curing power, everything was made easy for his first case. Eventually someone got sick and decided to try him; they would send for him. He would go and cure the man. When he had once made a cure, then everyone knew he was a competent doctor and other people asked for his services. Perhaps he would be called down to Picayune or, if someone was sick over at Northfork, people would come down from there to get him.

787 224 825 A man became a fine deer hunter by dreaming of Deer, said J.R. If the deer wanted a certain man to be a good deer hunter, they would go to him repeatedly in dreams. The wild deer told him where he might see the sacred flints. These are seven flints about five inches long; they belong to the deer; they lie under some bushes in Miwok territory close to Ahwahnee. They are not to be touched, but looked at from a distance of five or six feet. J.R. himself has seen them.

After several dreams of the deer, in which they talked to their protégé, the man knew where to find the flints. Then he went. He went gently, gently, watching, watching. The flints make a metallic sound, like metal dropping on a rock. The man would hear them: he could hear sounds no other person could detect, some good, some bad. [What was said or done on viewing the flints was not told; perhaps nothing ?] After such an experience a man became a professional deer hunter; he was called upon to provide meat for celebrations, large assemblies, etc., like the big mourning celebration. He never ate deer meat, but ate any other kind which he killed.

787 825 M.W. said he had an aunt who received power from Deer. Once when she was a young girl, she was sitting out some place when a deer came up to her. Deer talked to her, saying he wanted to be her master [supernatural helper]. The girl agreed, but she did not receive a song from Deer. She always said Deer was good, not a malicious tutelary. She used her power only to cure herself when she was ill, not for others. She lived to extreme old age, "over a hundred," and, although blind in her last years, was never ill. She married a white man, but had no children: "She was nice, everybody liked her."

M.W. had heard of an old man who also had Deer as a supernatural helper. Whenever others went out to hunt deer, this man "would step on something and then nobody could get deer." The informant did not know whether this man was long-lived, too.

[P. 207 g] Chukchansi

787 A doctor's animal helper was a living one,
825 not a spiritual representative. He could not
kill any animal of that breed. One actual
●756 animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong
to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.

She did not know whether white people
787 dreamed in this way but opined that they might,
especially if they "believed that way." "The
Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who
dreamed that way [of animals ?] when she was a
little girl.

Shaman's Cache

756 The shaman's cache was attributed only to
rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she described
778 concerning it and the dangerous nature
of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to
556 those held by other Yokuts groups. According
to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a
large rock. He would talk to the rock, which
would open so he could get his things. Each
doctor had his own place; his things would be
in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he
had created by means of his power. The opening
thereto was not palpable to others: "You could
go over that rock a thousand times and not find
the place." If an ordinary person wants to
[788] touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safeguard
himself by rubbing his hands with wormweed:
"Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

578 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was
made by some people who knew the secrets. Once
682 someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hanging
on a clothesline. When she put on the
278 dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be
cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure
now [method ?]. If some evil woman had some of
that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone
else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person
with it. L.W. would have to do it or she herself
would die [at the poisoner's hands ?].
Even today these people [poisoners] are feared
although no poisonings have occurred "since a
long time ago."

Rain Shamans

791 The art of rain-making was learned from a
living rain shaman, although dreaming was an
essential part of success. A father usually
taught one of his sons and left him his outfit
when he died.

There was an old man named Soket at
O'Neals who made rain.[145] N.W. saw him when he
[787] was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

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[145] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

791 animals, but "maybe about the earth, maybe the world." It told him to go far off, over to [787] N.W.'s house. He walked at night. In the morning N.W. saw him. He behaved as though he were blind. She said, "Where are you coming from?" He said he was lost, and asked where was the Picayune Rancheria. N.W. claims that he well knew where it was but just asked because he wanted them to bring him over. When he got here [Picayune] he walked home by himself; that was when he got power to make rain.

Soket had jars of medicine; he dreamed [764] about it and made it himself from roots, seeds, barks, etc. When he died, these jars were buried with him. (L.W. interposed that someone took them out later for his own use, she thought.) Whenever it was dry in this region, 791 Soket would put some of his seeds in water, then sing, talk, and pray. The songs came from 789 his dreams. Then it would rain a little. If more rain were wanted, more seeds would be put in. Some rain shamans threw water toward the sun, thus making a rainbow. Kroeber describes Chukchansi rain-making as done by "blowing and the dipping of fingers into water."[146]

A rain shaman made rain because he wanted to or when people who knew him well asked him to. A curing shaman would frighten a rain shaman by threatening to kill him if he did not produce rain. "When it doesn't rain, things don't grow, but dry up. When he doesn't make enough rain people scold him and scare him. He doesn't get paid. He doesn't kill people, so they don't pay him for what he does." [This is N.W.'s opinion, but that he was not paid is open to doubt in the light of general practice by Yokuts rain shamans. -- A.H.G.]

When the shaman made rain, he was alone and allowed no one to see him. He kept his outfit in a big rock. A father might give his son the materials he used: this is different from the acquisition of power by dreaming of an animal tutelary. When another person wanted to make rain, the rain shaman might give him some materials and instructions; but he rarely had more than one such apprentice. No ordinary person could touch those things or he would die.

Rattlesnake Shamans

756 Rattlesnake shamans did not practice among the Chukchansi and, according to N.W., nothing 752 was done to prevent snake bite. It could be caused by someone having a rattlesnake tutelary who would send the snake to bite a certain person. The usual treatment was to send the victim away from the village in the care of a virgin boy, if a man, or a virgin girl, if a woman. The attendant brought water and food. There is still living an old woman whose index finger was bitten by a rattlesnake. The first

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[146] Handbook, 518.

756 joint "got rotten and fell off" but this was
the only ill effect she suffered. In plate 1,
752 Part I (right vertical) is a dark stick with
horizontal markings. This is a Chukchansi
"doctor's wand," and is a stick covered with
rattlesnake skin; it was "secured from
Mayenetz, Coarse Gold." (Spec. no. 76484.)

"The Indian doctor" [any shaman ?] could cure rattlesnake bites, according to J.R. He sang over the stricken person; he looked at the sun, at the same time whistling through a small bone tube.[147] A medicine for snake bite was known, but was not used if the shaman were there. "The doctor did better work. The medicine wasn't a sure cure. The witch [shaman] made a fellow get well, though." A person bitten by a snake should kill it, for if he did not, the creature would continue to send poison into the wound from a distance. "The snake wouldn't bite you again. He would just throw the poison into you from where he was, off somewhere."

People were bitten frequently. J.R. knew of one woman who did nothing for the wound; a large swelling developed. People tried to cure it, but she died.

756 There were shamans who had learned from
their dreams how to handle rattlesnakes, said
825 J.R. These men were told in dreams where to
787 find the snakes and how to appease them so they
would never be injured by them. A rattlesnake
shaman used down from a squirrel hawk[148] when he
[237] was dancing. The down was across his forehead
[entwined in strings or glued in place ?] and
he wore nothing else except "a little piece
around the waist." [Breechclout or loincloth,
probably.]

756 The rattlesnakes, secured in summer, were
fed hawk down. They were further quieted by
825 the shaman's spittle. The shaman spat on or
near the snake's head. "Spit just light, thin.
Do it close to him -- just over his head, on
his head, any place. After this he can understand you, when you have thrown spit on him."
The shaman handled the snake with bare hands.

This was done at a ceremony, for exhibition, particularly "when someone won't believe they can do it." But the rattlesnake shaman did not prevent persons from being bitten: "They don't ever do anything to keep people from getting snake bite. They can't do anything that way."

Compared to southern Yokuts snake-handling, that of the Chukchansi seems aberrant, amateurish. According to Kroeber, the Chukchansi lacked the rattlesnake ceremony.[149] J.R.'s ac-

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[147] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 517.

[148] The red-tailed hawk? "The squirrel hawk has a red tail and feathers a little different from the tail. They get the fine feathers off the body of this bird, all white, fine, just like cotton. Pull the outside feathers off, throw them away."

[149] Handbook, 506.

Y 756 825 count may have applied to the Miwok also; it was not clear.

M 756 825 J.R.'s own father, a Miwok, used to handle rattlesnakes. They never bit him. During the night, while others were asleep, the snakes would come into the house and glide around that man's head. He knew it though the others in the house did not. Then he would take the intruders up in his hand, take them away from the village and turn them loose. This sometimes happened after daylight, so others saw what he was doing.

Y 756 825 J.R. knew of one snake-handler who failed. H.J.'s father could catch rattlesnakes. When he was a boy he used to play, would run his hands down squirrel holes. He did this for some time. Then he said he was going to catch and handle a rattlesnake, as he had seen the old doctors do. He lived with his mother by the creek, near the present apple orchard at Coarse Gold; his white father was already dead. Eventually he got hold of a rattler. He wrapped it in his big handkerchief and put it in his blouse. As he grew older he continued the practice. He said he could catch any snake and, if they bit him, it would not hurt. He thought he was going to be a snake doctor.

He would go around where the Roans lived, around Coarse Gold, sometimes on horseback. He would have a rattlesnake, not always the same one, around his head or around his arm, rattling all the time. Then he would go away again, maybe come back again. But he was often seen so adorned.

Once he came into the saloon with a very small snake, only a foot long. He had the snake on his hand. He laid it on the table, coiled. He moved his hand around in passing movements over the snake's head to make it sway its head about. Then he lowered his hand a little. The snake was watching him all the time, never moving. Suddenly it struck, biting the man on the hand, first finger, second joint. Then the man said he had been bitten, and that he would go home and die. "Before I die, I will go home," he said. He lived, at that time, near the mission at Coarse Gold; he had a wife and two boys there. He went home. He lasted all that night. About morning, just after daybreak, he stopped talking and died. They kept him after he died, maybe a day (not the usual two to three days). Then they buried him a little way from where he had lived.

Bear Control

Some people controlled bears by means of supernatural power but they did not change themselves into bears.[150]

There was a man (name unknown) who would call a bear to come and visit him, and some-

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[150] This family, H.W., C.D., etc., had never heard of bear transformation.

756 825 times he sent the bear to harm others. Once he sent the bear to kill an old woman whom he disliked: "People knew it was his bear." The woman was out gathering acorns when the bear came, tore her to pieces, and hung her clothes and all the separate parts of her body -- head, legs, arms, entrails, heart -- in a manzanita bush. Her heart was still beating when they found it.

[522] There is another man, alive today, who controls a bear. This is L.G. When Miss Thrall asked her informant if L.G. would tell her about his bear, N.W. replied that it was unlikely, "that he might set it after you," and indulged in good-natured laughter.[151]

825 Bears were regarded with considerable awe as they are powerful and are thought to possess human intelligence. They would get hold of a person's weapons and break them up. They cry "just like people when they are hungry." They hear and understand everything people say. There was a man named Kaitana who said derogatory things about bears: soon one came and tore the flesh off his buttocks. Bears, however, never turn into people.

There were persons with supernatural power, like shamans, who could converse with bears, said J.R. The bear is regarded as almost human: "He watches you, heads you off; he can't talk but he understands you just like a man."

[535] Sometimes bears were seen dancing. They walk on their hind feet, usually near a small tree. Then they approach the tree and maul it: "They are just doing their way." Some Indians down at Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi?) used to dance like bears, said J.R.: "They saw bears dancing." [The implication is that the Chukchansi knew the Yokuts Bear Dance only through the Yokuts at Friant. -- A.H.G.]

754 789 Kroeber states that Chukchansi Bear doctors (sic) made their enemies ill by shooting little stones into them; also that a female shaman transformed into a bear at the time of her burial.[152]

Miscellaneous Powers

756 The power of playing with fire was possessed by some Chukchansi shamans, like those of the San Joaquin River region. Once, said J.R., the chief of Wehil, a village in Grub Gulch, offered a sum of money to a shaman who lived near by if he would demonstrate his powers. Many spectators came, especially from Picayune.

756 789 The spectacle was in the evening. An enormous fire was built, around which the audience sat. Then the shaman "got his clothes off" [presumably appeared in aboriginal re-

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[151] This is typical Yokuts jollity. -- A.H.G.

[152] Handbook, 516, 517.

756 789 galia] and announced that he was going to dance around the fire, then throw himself into it. This he did. He threw himself into the fire head first and emerged about a minute later. Everyone saw him enter the flames, saw him right in there. When he emerged he was not blistered and his hair was not singed, nor was he otherwise injured: "That fire never touched him." That was all. Several people contributed money which was given him next day.

Just beyond Ahwahnee (on the Crooks Ranch) there once were five or six men going along, playing, enjoying themselves. Two of them had supernatural power. Some of the fellows grew reckless in their talk and challenged the "witches" to a show of power.[153] Ahead of them on the trail was a large round rock, some ten feet high and weighing perhaps a ton. One of the men asked the empowered ones, "could they do anything with that rock, could they break it, or could they kick it?" etc.

One of the powerful men said he could kick it. He backed down the trail about forty feet for a running start while his companions stood by the rock to watch. Then he said, "All right!" He jumped and ran at top speed toward the rock and kicked it. It moved about ten feet. It is still there; no one can move it. The men then agreed that he indeed had power.

756 764 821 Whenever a shaman died, whirlwinds and thunderstorms arose. Consequently shamans were buried at once without delay. Anyone who grieved at a shaman's death would cry for him as for an ordinary person. Some shamans were buried in the village cemetery.

756 789 Shamans often received gifts of food, particularly deer meat from hunters: men feared that if they did not do this the shaman would sicken them. Some, but not all, shamans hunted for themselves. They had a stone called Bokun to which they talked secretly before setting out. With this magic aid they could shoot game at once with the bow and arrow.

A woman who refused favors to a shaman might be sickened or killed by him.

Shaman-killing

683 An evil shaman normally met with retribution in the end. Some shamans were more powerful than others and hurt their inferiors. Sometimes doctors would get together to test their power and see who was the most powerful. Then, to test the victor's power, they would send him to kill someone. Often a less endowed shaman would stay away from tribal festivities for fear of being killed by his superiors. However,

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[153] I do not know how else to render J.R.'s phrase, "Some boys can say anything, playing like that." In Yokuts culture it is considered reckless or unwise for an ordinary person to challenge another's power. -- A.H.G.

[P. 210 a] Chukchans.

683 when the time for public avengement came, no shaman was immune.

683 Once there was a shaman of ill-repute who came to a celebration at Picayune He was mean,
824 would kill a person without provocation. Other doctors thought of the evil things that man had
766 done, so they decided to kill him. He got a pain in his side, went home, and died. The people were afraid to bury him. They dug an extra deep grave at his own house, not in the regular burying-place. Such powerful whirlwinds arose they could scarcely handle him. It rained, thundered, and blew. When they got the body in the grave, they put large stones on top, but the whirlwind blew those rocks away "just like blasting." Finally they got the hole filled, put more rocks on top, and went home.

754 The activities of malicious shamans were curbed by fear of revenge. A family, believing
626 themselves to be the victim of deliberate ill-treatment from a certain shaman, could legiti-
683 mately seek to kill the man. This might be done by a member of the family or, in some cases, a man was hired to do it. Public opinion upheld the family when their suffering was known to be aggravated by a shaman's malice.

If a chief had a big family and they all
628 started dying, he would think maybe it was a certain doctor who was killing them, said J.R. He didn't tell anyone. He secretly called a brave man, maybe two, not many. He told them that he had lost all his family and that he suspected a certain bad doctor of killing them. The doctor might live in some other community. The chief would have with him some money, perhaps valuable baskets, something worth fifteen to twenty-five dollars. He would say, "I am going to tell you, I want you. Now I tell you boys, I want you to go over to his place tonight. I will send a man over there to get the doctor and bring him where you are."

In the late afternoon, around five o'clock, the chief would send a man over to the shaman's house who, on some pretext, would get the shaman to come out to a prearranged spot. Without losing sight of him, the messenger went off a bit to find the killers who were to meet him. He said to them, "He is right there now. Are you ready? All right. Here he is." Then the hired men approached the shaman. These avengers had their bows, already charged with arrows, in their hands. When they were very close to their victim -- about four feet -- they shot directly at his heart. "That Indian doctor was done for." Then the men departed, leaving the corpse. The dead man's relatives came and took him away for burial. [Revenge by the shaman's family was not alluded to by any informant. Probably here, as elsewhere, the man's guilt was known to his relatives, so they would not attempt retaliation. -- A.H.G.]

756 Women shamans were known to the Chukchansi, and were evidently more common than among other

756 Yokuts tribes to the south. Their professional integrity was in no way superior to that of male shamans; and evil shamans, even though women, suffered the same fate. J.R. recounted
754 the following anecdote of the punishment of a witch.
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> There was a witch (shaman), who lived near here, who used to go down to Picayune. She got killed right near here. An Indian named J. lived down across the creek, toward Oakhurst. His wife and aunt were both sick all the time. The woman doctor lived near there. [Inferentially, she was asked to doctor the invalids.] The man's wife died. That woman never tried to cure her. It looked like she never wanted to cure her. The doctor wouldn't help her at all, and J.'s wife didn't get any better. Looked like the witch didn't want to save her. Right away, after they buried the wife, the man's aunt, who was over there sick, died too, right away. They buried her, too. That night, after they buried his aunt, the man J., who didn't want that woman doctor to live, went and kicked and beat her and killed her right there.

Shamans' Contest

756 The formalized and spectacular contest between shamans, which was so important an adjunct to Yokuts mourning ceremonies, was but
789 poorly represented in Chukchansi culture. The only contest described was seemingly not connected with the Mourning Ceremony but was merely an exciting demonstration of power.

> J.R.'s father and father's two sisters had supernatural power. The aunts lived at Aplau (where Bersall lives now). At this place many Indians gathered to see the spectacle: Mono from Northfork, Chukchansi from Picayune, Gashowu (?) from Friant, and Miwok from Round House (Watsamo). From Friant came a shaman with his sister, also a shaman, wanting to demonstrate their power. The captain at Aplau was in charge, his permission was necessary. The captain said to the doctor from Friant, "You witches know how to shoot with your power, some kind you have. How far?" "Oh," said the shaman, "as far as to that building." ["That building" was J.R.'s substitution to indicate the distance, which was about 65-70 feet.]
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> The local shamans, J.R.'s father and aunt, already had their clothes off "to show they were witches" [were wearing ceremonial regalia, more probably. -- A.H.G.]. The father had bluejay tail feathers arranged as ornaments. The visiting shamans were going to shoot J.R.'s father and aunt and knock them unconscious.
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> Two fires were built; the power came from them. The shamans held flat basket trays which they circled over the fire to draw from the fire the invisible magic "shot." First one worked over the fire, then the other. Then the first visitor shot J.R.'s father [method or motions not described]. He fell down. Then the second shaman from Friant caused J.R.'s

[P. 2119] Chukchansi

756 aunt to fall unconscious. No one could see how
789 the shot worked: J.R. saw this performance himself. Tnen the two visitors extracted the missiles by some unknown means, and the fallen victims "stood right up."

This was not a true contest since the local shamans did not take offensive shots at their opponents. Of course, they may have attempted to defend themselves in some way by means of their own supernatural powers. After the demonstration "everybody sat around and had fun" [played games, presumably. -- A.H.G.].

Jimsonweed

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756 According to J.R., the best jimsonweed (t'anai) grew down on the Fresno River at Grub Gulch. The shamans who made use of it would go there to get it. They took only the main root, no side roots; this they dried for future use. Such men had dreamed previously of jimsonweed, of how to handle it.

When a shaman wanted to take the drug, he would pound up the root and mix some of the powder with warm water. Only a very small mouthful was drunk: "That will keep you down on the ground, talking to yourself, maybe a
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787 couple of days." "It makes you dream, just like marijuana. You see things other people can't see. When a doctor wants to see something away off, or something they don't know about around here, they can do this with this plant. Only doctors would do it, to see how good they are" [how much power they had].

J.R. knew of shamans at Friant [Gashowu, Kechayi territory] who were expert at this. They sang before they drank. There were perhaps two such men. They drank jimsonweed from a little basket; they sang, "I am going to drink you, t'anai." Soon they appeared to be drunk and fell down. But while they slept, they saw with their hearts [souls] things which no one else could see.

At Ahwahnee, in Miwok territory, J.R. saw a shaman take jimsonweed. He came from Wawona. He did not want to lie down while under the

[P. 211 b] Chukchansi

276 756 787 drug's influence, but sat up, talking to himself. He said that he had seen his mother take it; she chewed a little, "just enough to sit there, see something, know something, talk to herself."

This method, just chewing a small amount of jimsonweed, was the local, common way of taking it in the Fresno River region, according to J.R. A person who has taken it is "jumpy": "If you make a noise he will start, be scared, look just like a dog that has swallowed strychnine. Acts pretty funny. But he will see what he is after." The affected person must not be given any food or water until he has regained a normal physical condition. The mouth looks scabby, slobbery, dry, said J.R.

[887] He had never heard of any ordinary person, especially youths, taking jimsonweed. No young person would touch it; only very old people attempted to use it, and these were exclusively professional shamans already possessed of supernatural power. Such men might take it about once a year.

This information was substantiated by N.W. and M.W. They said shamans used dried powdered jimsonweed (t'anai), which they ate dry, to obtain clairvoyant power. When they ate it, they could recall long past events, see hidden objects, and see people and occurrences at a distance. For example, they would tell that a certain person was traveling on his way to their village.

A Chukchansi shaman, said M.W., drank jimsonweed for two weeks and ate nothing. [Presumably, in accordance with surrounding practice, he ate nothing for two weeks and then drank jimsonweed. -- A.H.G.] He acquired more power than he had before. M.W. said shamans, not ordinary persons, used to drink it to have visions. He never saw this [the vision or the practice?]. L.W. said the plant was "just like marijuana, that stuff. Pretty bad!"

[184] The information above corroborates Kroeber's statement that the northernmost Yokuts, specifically the Chukchansi, made but little use of jimsonweed and lacked the jimsonweed ritual.[154]

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[154] Handbook, 502.

W Y 769 first giving them money, the women followed giving acorn meal or berries. The singers had large baskets with them to receive these things.

Then the mourners "sang loud and danced around in a circle. Some had effigy dolls at this little fandango." These, and any remaining possessions of the deceased, were thrown on the fire. They were not given to the washers (as at the "big" ceremony).

W Y [783] Next morning, just after sunrise, the washer or washers took baskets of hot water and washed the mourners "all over" and put new clothes on them. They also presented them with meat, which the winatums took to prepare for a general feast. There was no dancing or other festivity at this time. At the end, the mourners, assisted by a contribution from the chief, gave a sum of money to the washers and their companions. The visiting chief "got about three or four times as much money as the others."

Usually a little mourning ceremony of this kind lasted but one day and night, but its length differed with the wealth or the desire for display of the bereaved. Sometimes the affair would last four or five days, i.e., the burning and washing were postponed while the singers sang each morning. (Meanwhile the guests had to be fed and the singers must be paid that much more.) If it was thought that there would not be a "big" tribal ceremony during the forthcoming year, the "little" one was made more elaborate.

W Y 769 426 There was no money exchange for interest (lak·na´n·č) connected with the smaller ritual, save as the mourners might have to borrow money privately to meet the expense.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Training and Practice

W ● Y ● 756 778 The acquisition and uses of supernatural power were so well understood by S.O. that he could readily formulate the following statements. There are some interpolations from B.O. and D. I think it is safe to assume that S.O.'s account can serve for the culture of all the Central Foothill tribes: it enlarges, but in no way contradicts, the statements of less knowledgeable and intelligent informants. S.O. made it clear, as had others, that the distinction between a common person with a little privately used power and the professional public shaman was one of quantity of power. The procedure for acquiring power was the same for all: the ambitious person continued his efforts and strove for dreams of more and stronger supernatural helpers (e.g., Cougar, Eagle, Coyote, Owl) than the person who was content with one or two dreams of lesser helpers (e.g., Blackbird, Night, Fox). This, of course, did not apply to women who might and did acquire "private" power but never became professional

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Y doctors. S.O. said he had "never seen or heard
756 of a woman doctor." There was no shamans'
778 class or society or form of initiation.

There was no difference between preparation for doctoring (shamanism) and ordinary
W seeking of power except that of the amount of
Y effort expended. Nor did procedure differ in
756 seeking one tutelary rather than another. The
778 nature of the supernatural power (tɨ´pni) was the same: the quantity of power in terms of
787 the number of dream helpers (ai´nɨč) and the abilities they sponsored determined the difference. All people began to have significant dreams, or at least to notice them, about the time of adolescence. Whether or not these offers of supernatural aid were accepted was entirely a matter of individual choice, as was also the kind of dream. Thus, if a youth wished to become a doctor, he would accept a dream of "doctoring" brought by, say, Owl or Coyote, and discourage or reject a dream from Cougar, who gave hunting power. Theoretically, said S.O., through the medium of dream anything might tell a youth to doctor -- an animal, insect, or even some other doctor, or such elements as Night, Water, Thunder, etc. But actually the things dreamed of were relatively few (when compared to the all-inclusive "anything") and no case of an inanimate object (such as a pestle, basket, or bow) being a dream helper was known. The "best" helper was Eagle; his power was the strongest. But Owl and Coyote were the traditional shamans' sponsors. When dreamed of, they would offer aid to the dreamer, tell him that he could cure people, and what talismans to use.

W Although it was not compulsory to accept
Y offers of supernatural aid, it was advised by older people, who would admonish the young to
787 acquire at least a little power for themselves. They would say to their young relatives, "If
[869] you don't do this, you will die soon. You are young now. It is time for you to start now [to attend to your dreams]." Old men thus would address the younger generation in the sweat house or when they came to visit in a house. When S.O. was young, he would sit by his father's fire, fanning it, and ask visitors to tell him stories and advise him on conduct.

The procedure for inducing dreams was thus laid down by S.O.:

1. Tobacco must be drunk every night, after supper and before retiring, to cause vomiting.
2. Go to bed with the mind set on the sort of dream desired.
3. Dream; if the dream is irrelevant, ignore it.
4. If the dream is significant, get up and walk some distance from the house, 100 feet or more.
5. There talk to the visitant in the dream, saying it [or its instructions] had been heard, that it is accepted and now "owned" by

W Y 787 828 dreams that his mother-in-law is there too.[179] When people dreamed of someone in this casual manner (i.e., not a "power" dream), they might speak of it to each other, saying, for example, "I saw your brother" (uhe´wia nü u´bunɨt, Waksachi).

W Y 787 778 [577] 756 Significant or "power" dreams were told only to the most intimate friends, usually only to one who was also seeking tɨpni. There was no formal prohibition on disclosing them; rather it was a matter of wisdom and good taste not to talk of, and particularly not to brag of, one's supernatural power.[180] Other people were aware, of course, of a seeker's activities and knew that he was by way of being a doctor. A man was usually thirty to forty years old before he felt that he knew enough to cure as a professional shaman. It was often through the intimate acquaintance of two friends who knew of each other's supernatural experiences that a budding shaman secured his first patient.

W Y 755 756 Thus, a man who had a sick child might be too poor to pay a high fee or might be distrustful of established shamans. The intimate friend of the novice would suggest to the father that he let So-and-So try, that he knew he had much power. Or the father himself might be aware of the young man's efforts and want to try him. Whichever the circumstance, the father would approach the young man with a sum of money (less than would be offered a professional practitioner) and ask him to come try to cure his child. If the novice felt he had enough power to attempt it, he would do so; if not, there was no compulsion for him to agree. He would be likely to refuse unless confident of success, as failure always laid a doctor's motives open to suspicion, especially repeated failures. A young doctor, like an old one, was entitled to keep the fee whether the cure succeeded or not, and was often given additional presents of baskets or blankets, if successful.

However, the novice must begin sometime and, if he accepted the fee, would go and do his best. His talismans would be those indicated by his dreams, and his methods of curing would be sucking, blowing, and rubbing, as with all doctors. If the patient recovered, he was recommended to others and so little by little set up a practice, so to say. He continued his training procedure, for always he must reëmpower his used talismans, and an accumulation of power was not only desirable but indispensable when he became sufficiently successful to attract attention as a possible rival to older shamans. An initial failure to cure usually led to redoubled efforts to seek power; but

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W Y [606 153] [179] Although S.O. insisted that there was no mother-in-law tabu in his society, it is worthy of remark that he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name in spite of the fact that his genealogical memory carried over 200 names and his dreams of the woman were cordial.

[180] A story pointing a moral against bragging of one's power appears in Gayton and Newman, 37.

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[755] continuing failures might dissuade the novice
from pursuing a shaman's career.

756 An advance in the attainment of supernatural power was marked by a shaman's entrance into the Shamans' Contest, as only "big" doctors could make the airshot believed derived from the sun. A shaman with little power would fear to attempt it. Moreover, it was customary that entering shamans make and exhibit airshot to the managing winatum before the contest commenced.

W Young doctors were not feared as malevo-
Y lent, as were older, powerful shamans. "Bad
doctoring," the sickening of others for the at-
[754 tainment of wealth through fees, political
power, or for malicious pleasure, was thought
156] to be a matter of personality. It was a misuse of power by the individual, and was not due to different or evil dream helpers,[181] although it was thought that assistance from several very powerful helpers such as Eagle, Cougar, Coyote, and Owl might endanger a man's good character by putting excessive power in his way. Whether a doctor was good or bad was believed to result largely from his choice of companions. There was a tendency among shamans to form cliques which became mutually antagonistic. S.O. summarized his long exposition by concluding: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. Sometimes they got mean, tried to see what they could do, and got so they thought they could do anything. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."

W The procedure between patient and es-
Y tablished doctor was much like that given above
for the novice. When a person became ill, some
755 member of the family would go after the doctor
whom they had selected, taking a fee with him.
756 More money or objects of value might be given the doctor during the course of curing. It was this practice of "bleeding" a patient's relatives that led avaricious men to the shaman's profession and, when carried too far, brought the outraged family to the conclusion that the patient was in truth the shaman's own victim. Even if death resulted, the initial fee was not returned; the doctor "usually was told to keep it." But S.O. knew of instances wherein half was returned; to obviate suspicion a conscientious doctor would want to do this.

The doctor summoned would normally agree
W to visit the sick person, but he would proceed
Y to curing only if he felt disposed to do so.
The first thing he would try would be rubbing
755 the patient with his talisman. Cutting (for
[237 sucking) was not thought good practice. The
doctor's talisman, which might be a weasel skin,
778] owl's head, stone, etc., was dipped in a basket of water and rubbed on parts of the patient's body. As he did this, the shaman talked to the

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[181] Cf. Chukchansi; a Chukchansi man might become the unwilling abettor of his supernatural helpers.

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755 dream helper the talisman represented or to the object itself. He would blow on the affected part, such as the head or abdomen, and press the talisman against it. In so doing he would address the talisman "and tell it to tell the ill person not to be sick." This procedure did not always cure, and cutting and sucking might be resorted to. During the course of treatment a doctor would stop to smoke and also to go off to some secluded spot to commune with his helpers. By means of this supernatural information he would learn what to do, what was the cause of the sickness. He would not always tell what this was; particularly would he hesitate to disclose that some other doctor had deliberately sickened the patient. That is, he would not dare to announce whom he specifically believed to be responsible unless he felt that his own power was greater, as the accused doctor would certainly take revenge by supernatural means.

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627 If the patient died, his relatives might doubt the sincerity of the shaman's curing efforts, particularly if the doctor previously had lost patients. "They would get mad and talk about it, saying, 'He doesn't know much,' 'He is a bad doctor,' and so on. And while they talked they'd get madder and decide to kill that doctor." Some relatives of the deceased would do this; there was no official "shaman-killer." Sometimes they would be too enraged to wait for the chief's permission to take action. Although relatives of the victim combined for revenge, it was not permissible, or even thinkable, that they should avenge themselves on any of the shaman's relatives. He alone was responsible for the offense. The action was condoned as one of public benefit, particularly if in the normal course of consultation with the chief and older men they had advised it. However, if the shaman's family doubted the justice of his punishment, they could take up his cause and a feud would result. By anecdotal evidence this was rare. A shaman's own relatives tended to ignore him when he became antisocial in behavior.

Dream Experiences

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755 1. When S.O. was living at Dunlap his wife and three children were still alive. He had been ill and apathetic. He drank a little tobacco every night merely as a cleansing tonic. It caused vomiting: then he would fall asleep immediately with no thought of dreaming.

But one night two hummingbirds "came away up from the south." They addressed him: "What do you get sick for? Just a little sickness like that! I want to help you. I have come from far away. I have come to see you. You will be well in the morning. Go to the spring now and wash. We are going back now."

W
Y "I just said, 'As long as I live I will see
787 you, Rock. I see you all the time.'"[105]

To accept a dream of this type, i.e.,
778 getting down safely off a height, would give
the dreamer power to do this in real life.
S.O. explained his rejection of this by his
blindness which did not permit him "to go
around any places like that."

W 5. It was not considered wise or in good
taste to boast of one's supernatural power, but
● Y particularly was it a matter of caution not to
let a shaman suspect one of having a competi-
● 756 tive amount of tɨpni. "People never told what
they dreamed or what their talisman was except
778 to their most trusted friends." If one person
said to another, "You have lots of power," the
787 person addressed replied in kind, "It is you
who have lots of power," as the perception of
power in another was thought to indicate the
possession of power by the perceiver. Since
shamans, of course, had this power (of percep-
tion) it was thought to be difficult to keep
them from knowing about one's private abilities.
Apropos of this, S.O. told the following dream
experience and its aftermath.

Once he dreamed that he was over at Watoki Dam and saw a bright green rattlesnake swimming towards him across the water. As it was the fall of the year [hibernation period], he was greatly puzzled, especially by its verdant aspect. He told no one.

The very next day Senai´ja, a shaman, came. He knew beforehand that S.O. had seen the snake, and the following conversation ensued.

Shaman: What did you see last night ?
S.O. (being wary): Yes, I saw something.
Shaman: You saw something close to you last night ?
S.O.: Yes, I saw a rattlesnake.
Shaman: That's just what I mean.

Bystanders wondered what this conversation was about but recognized that the shaman had some supernatural apperception. Then Senaija told S.O. that the reason he saw the snake was "because he had been following the old ways" (i.e., dreaming, praying, sun-basking, etc). He said he (Senaija) knew all about it. S.O. "just laughed but he was mad inside." He was chagrined because he was following the old ways and did not wish it to be known.

[That the shaman's perspicacity was verbal pretense did not appear to S.O. If so intelligent a person as S.O. was blind to the verbal trickery involved, the delusions perpetrated by "mean" shamans on dull people must have been facile indeed.]

W
Flying Power

Y A special type of power, that of jumping
791 or "flying" through space for a considerable

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789 [105] Another standardized phrase for addressing anything supernatural: ama´mao͵pa´'anao na mum ia´'ika (whole, or round-of-the-year, every place I you see).

[P. 244 a] Western Mono N: 25

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Y saw what he thought was a dog coming along the trail, but it proved to be a coyote. Immediately after, they met Pušlιlιn and Koˊʼo (both
613 Chukaimina shamans) and a third man. As they
825 came up, Pušlιlιn said, "Did you see my poša ?" "Yes," said S.O. And Pušlιlιn replied, "He always goes with me at night. I make him do that by dreaming of him every night."

W
Y The talisman in most common use by Michahai people with supernatural power was the eagle-down cord (pisesan). This was somewhat
778 comparable to the loose eagle down used by the Wukchumni and other Yokuts. The one belonging to S.O. is illustrated (fig. 2). He freely offered it to me to examine and often sat with it in his hands while talking. He stated definitely that it had been made for him by D., a Michahai woman who was also my informant. She, however, as firmly denied having done so when questioned about it. The misunderstanding may be mine.

W

Wakṡachi Shamanism

● Y The following very general information on
● 756 shamanism was given by B.O.

A man who was a doctor (pohaˊgɨ) might get his power from "most anything." When he cured,
Y he wore the Yokuts-type feather headdress of
[237] crow and magpie feathers. Sucking and rubbing with eagle down were the only curing techniques.

There were no women doctors among the Waksachi, nor were there any specialists. A doctor who cured snake bites was called ṭuʼuˊdəm (Yokuts word), but he gave no dancing
W performance or Snake Ritual like his Yokuts
Y analogue.

764 The burial of a shaman was like that for an ordinary person.

The killing of evil shamans was thought
W justifiable. There was no special person for
Y this duty. Men who wanted to kill a shaman
756 would go to their chief for advice and consent, then do the deed themselves. While the death
683 of the shaman himself was condoned, it was not permissible to injure any member of his family. For their part, the shaman's relatives never retaliated, under normal circumstances. If a doctor, so murdered, had several horses, they would be divided among the killers; other property was disposed of by his relatives as in an ordinary death.

B.O. related one anecdote of a shaman's death.

W
Y A mourning ceremony was being given by the
765 Yokod at their village [near the present site of Yokohl]. B.O. and his brother George, who
683 were renowned hunters, were asked to come and bring some deer. They went, stopping at Ranchería Flat over night, and en route killed six deer. They reached Yokohl on Thursday, well in advance of the final ritual on Saturday night.

[P. 245b] ~~Western Mono~~ NS25

W Y 789 791

Sumɨk was recalled by D., who gave the following account.

There were no rain-makers except in the south around Kernville and Tejon. A rain-maker was called hoto´ʼo ti´šaš (rain to-make) and got his power by dreaming, D. thought, about Thunder.

There was one man named sumɨk who traveled along the foothills as far north as Tušao [perhaps farther] to make money. When he came, he told the chief what he was going to do and, when permission was given, he sat down on a tule mat before the chief's house. The winatum announced what was to be done, and the men of the village approached and paid him for the coming display. With him he had a large white stone and some ka´wa seeds: these were his talismans (ainɨč). He scattered the seeds over the ground and then retired to a house where he remained quiet or slept all day. Toward evening he came out and harangued the people, telling them not to let their children play with hail (howo´to),[189] not to make fires with wood that had been struck by lightning or talk about Thunder, for the lack of rain was due to Thunder's anger. During his talk the white stone was kept beside him under a rabbitskin blanket. By-and-by it rained.

D. said she could not remember further details, as "she was just a little girl." She added that "when Sumɨk died, someone found his white stone and threw it away so no one could make rain any more."

Even S.O. barely recalled Sumɨk and his companion and professional rival Takumum, who already were old men in his childhood. He said Sumɨk threw fine gravel [seeds ?] up into the air with a scattering gesture, at the same time "talking to the up above." Soon it grew cloudy and began to rain; a high wind came too. As a spectacle these two rain-makers would work against each other, one making the rain cease as soon as the other started it. "They made money by going around where people wanted the weather changed or maybe just wanted to see it done."

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

W Y 796 276

Jimsonweed (ta´ñai) was drunk ritually by men and women at both Tušao and Čitatu. The affair at Tušao, as described by S.O., was the more orthodox and Yokuts-like; that at Čitatu was described by B.O.

W Y [756]

At Tušao the drink was taken in March by participants about eighteen to twenty years of age. To take it was not compulsory although S.O. felt that a doctor of real ability should

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[189] Hail is called "Thunder's bullets or shells" (sic) in English. Children often ate, played, and particularly had fights with coarse hail when it fell.

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796 take it at least once, and perhaps in several successive years. A powerful doctor would take
276 it at the same time as the plain people. There
[756] were more men than women partakers: the men "took it to find out things," the women "just
[751] to be doing it," S.O. thought. It was regarded as a kind of insurance of good health throughout life.

The leader of the affair did not have a special supernatural knowledge of, or dream relationship with, jimsonweed; his knowledge of the plant and how to administer it was believed to come from practical experience. He had no title, said S.O., "he was just called ma ta´ñai wa´namuts" (you jimsonweed give). But he was always elderly and well thought of.

About midwinter those who intended to drink jimsonweed in the spring would inform the leader. He instructed them to abstain from meat or grease for about two or three months before the probable time of drinking. They were also expected to remain rather quietly at home, not participating in hunting, in ceremonies, or merrymaking. The actual day of the drinking was announced six days in advance by the chief's winatum, after the leader himself had set the day. From then on the participants subsisted on very thin acorn gruel, and on the morning of the day ate nothing at all. All these restrictions were observed by the leader, although he did not partake of the drink.

At the time of the drinking, the participants met the leader at the village dance space; onlookers, especially relatives, were present. The leader had with him uncooked jimsonweed on a tray, the leaves and stems of which he mashed, put in a large basket, and covered with water. As he did this he talked to it, asking it "not to hurt these people but to help them." There was no singing or dancing, but the drinkers made a circuitous run around the dance space. Then they sat down in a row and each was given a drinking basket full of the liquid (about one pint). There were no ritually repetitive offers or attempts at drinking. They were instructed to drink it rapidly without smelling it, as the odor was nauseating.
W Soon the drinkers "began to tremble all over
Y and fall down." They were carried, by persons
[343] assigned to the task, to shades[190] set near the fire so they would not become chilled after sundown. Toward dawn of the next morning the drinkers began to move; some would sit up, others reach about, but all were yet speechless. Then, becoming restless, they would get up and, as they grew more active, they were guarded against flight or self-injury. "If they saw bears, they wanted to run off." As soon as they were able to walk they would be

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[190] Exactly what or where these were S.O. could not convey, except that they were "little houses near the fire." They were probably especially built booths such as the Yokuts were adept at constructing for spectators and visitors at their frequent ceremonies.

[P. 247 ~] [illegible] 25

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Y morning of the rite they "ran once around the
village; down at, Kingsburg [Wimi·lchi territory]
796 they ran around the house." Then they knelt on
276 a blanket. The two leaders sang songs about the narcotic, then held the basket of liquid to each drinker's lips. If the first dose were not effective, more would be given. When the drinkers fell over unconscious, they were carried to their homes. They slept about twenty-four hours. But when they roused from this, they did not cure others of sickness by brushing or in any other way perform for public benefit. The narcosis was believed to be a preventive "good medicine" for the drinker himself.

W
Y Jimsonweed was used as an anaesthetic when broken bones or painful injuries were treated.
752 The sufferer was given enough of the decoction to keep him in at least a seminarcosis for forty-eight to sixty hours. Such treatment was given by "anyone who knew how to mix it."

W
Y The two Choinimni who died from the effects of jimsonweed were mentioned by B.O. How-
796 ever, his version was that they did not observe the meat tabu. He said that they ate meat
276 "right up to the day and drank the next morning though everybody told them not to. They died that night."

Rattlesnake Ritual

W
● Y The Waksachi had neither snake doctors nor the Snake Ritual, but both informants had seen
796 the performance, B.O. at Squaw Valley, at a village on Kings River, and at Dunlap, and S.O.
825 at Squaw Valley. In all these rituals Choinim-
751 ni doctors were either the instigators or central figures. S.O. described the ritual as he remembered it at Squaw Valley, a Chukaimina-
● 756 Michahai area.

There were two doctors, Čokonɨk and Pušlɨlɨn, who were snake doctors (ṭe'ɛ´li čecisu´m, lit., rattlesnakes pet-their). They made this dance every spring about March just before the rattlesnakes were ready to leave their dens. The purpose of the ritual was to prevent persons from being bitten during the coming season.

These doctors went to a rattlesnake den, taking with them eagle-bone whistles (pusač), cages of twined stiff grass, and eagle down. They whistled for the snakes and fed them eagle down when they appeared. They talked to them gently, repeating constantly, "Maiya´´ɨn" (keep quiet!). The snakes understood and permitted themselves to be picked up by the back of the neck and put in the baskets. Carried home, the cages were hung up outside until the appointed day. The day for the ritual had been chosen with the chief's consent and set [at least] six days in advance. The winatum went around announcing the affair and "told everyone to come and have their money ready."

[P. 247b] ~~Western Mono~~ VS 25

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On the day set, the winatum dug two holes in the dance space. These were about 4 feet apart, about 2 feet deep, and 1 foot in diameter. The snakes were put in these and sprinkled with eagle down. The doctors, who wore the usual feather dance skirts, were lavishly ornamented with eagle-down strands around their necks and bands of down rope on their arms.

When all was ready the chief announced that it was time to pay, whereupon all present filed past four or five singers who were holding baskets, and threw some money in them. The line passed across the snake pits, and each person stamped beside the pits as he crossed them.

Čokonɨk and Pušlɨlɨn each stood beside his pole and, holding a large basketry tray in a vertical position, face outward, swung it slowly back and forth. Everyone, men, women, and children, chiefs, shamans, and winatums, took part in this. Then they all sat around as spectators while the snake doctors displayed their abilities.

The singers were singing continuously, and the managing winatum told the doctors to get their pets. The doctors picked up their snakes and put them on the trays where they lay coiled. They talked to them continually, saying "Maiya´ʼɨn, maiya´ʼɨn." They walked about close to the onlookers.[192] Then the chief would have his winatum ask for the "handling," at which the doctors put the snakes on their shoulders allowing them to crawl around. Then the chief asked for the "biting," and for this spectacle the doctors were again paid. The snakes were laid on the ground and angered by teasing with eagle feathers. The doctor held out his hand so a snake struck it. Winatums immediately carried the stricken doctors to shades or a house where a snake doctor from some other place sucked out the wounds. "The snake doctors never died from this because Snake was their poša."

S.O. added that the next morning the reptiles were returned to their dens; if their "owners" were still too sick, winatums were sent out with the snakes.

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Coyote clowning was not a specific part of this ritual as done by the Choinimni. (See Coyote clowning, below.)

The account given by B.O. was brief and less knowledgeable than the foregoing.

To get the snakes the doctors (ţu´dum) *went to the snake dens carrying whistles, trays*, and cages made of tule. At the rock pile they whistled to the snakes, who came out and were "herded round" by the doctors. One or two were selected and, when they coiled, they were lifted onto trays and thence into the cages. The cages were hung upon shades at home until needed.

At the ritual there were two singers. The doctors "danced around," letting the snakes "crawl all over them." Another man followed

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[192] To discover who was going to be bitten? See Wobonuch account (p. 285).

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with a basket to collect the pay. A chief, through his winatum, ordered that the doctors be bitten. A doctor would throw his snake on the ground, then pick it up by the tail. When it turned and struck, he released the tail so the creature hung by its fangs. A doctor who did this would be sick for two or three days; he would be cured by another snake doctor. "There was no purpose to this dance except to make money."

Various Dances

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Bear Dance.--According to B.O. the Waksachi had no Bear dancers: the one man who transformed himself into a bear did not dance. This is curious and somewhat dubious since the Wobonuch Western Mono, as well as surrounding Yokuts, had such performers in their Bear lineages. B.O. said that he saw a Bear Dance (noho'o kam) at Tušao given by two men and one woman "who had come from somewhere. They were some relation to Bear." This was in the fall.

S.O. stated that relatively few people had Bear as a family totemic animal; this possibly explains the Waksachi situation. At Squaw Valley there was a Chukaimina named Ko´'o who danced, but the Wobonuch dancer, Supa´na, most impressed S.O. One or two daughters of these men usually danced with them. S.O. gave the following description.

The Bear Dance was made in September before the acorns were ripe. The men wore belts of blue-jay feathers [sewed together through the quills] and bear-claw necklaces, but no bear hide. [The girl's costume was not described.] The two accompanying singers used cocoon rattles. The dance step was, for the men, three jumps forward, a move backward toward their previous position: this was repeated three times. Meanwhile the girl stood at one end behind them, remaining in her place and holding up her hands with elbows close to her sides, and swayed her torso slightly from side to side. No matter how greatly the performance was admired, it could only be repeated once; i.e., there might be two complete performances, one original and one encore, as it were. Spectators paid the singers, who collected for the dancers and shared in the collection. The dance was given in the morning and a feast with new acorns followed.

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S.O. could not say who provided this.

Skill as a Bear dancer was not related in any way, S.O. thought, to the ability to transform oneself into a bear, of which he seemed to know little. He had heard in all his life of just three men who could do this, a Tachi, a "southerner," and a Wobonuch, but he did not know the men personally or by name, nor did he know how the transformation was accomplished.

Beaver Dance or fish display.--This S.O. had heard of but could not describe. He claimed the performance was given by only two

[P. 248 b] ~~Western Mono~~ NS 25

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Y men, who were Wukchumni shamans, Tapuˊša and
796 Ilɩˊpča. (Ilɩˊpča was Joe Pohot's maternal grandfather's brother, possibly one of the per-
541 formers at the display Mary Pohot witnessed as a little girl.)

Huhuna Dance.--The following description was given by S.O. and has been previously published.[193] While the Huhuna Dance was part of the mourning ritual series it might be performed out of its ceremonial context at any time.

The Waksachi did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni and one from the Tule River Reservation who came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai too. Their names are not remembered. They came to ceremonies at Tušao. There they made money for the local chief, Pao'ɩč, but they were paid for doing this.

The Huhuna could hear money that was hidden, this was his special ability. Before the performance began, the chief sponsoring the affair had money hidden, possibly in the ground, under bushes, or in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. The chief himself supplied the money, though others might add to the sum if they wished. Huhuna was then brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask which covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he "heard" the hidden money he pointed toward it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum, who thereupon dug up the money and
W put it in a basket. If the Huhuna had not brought a winatum with him, the local chief
Y would assign one to assist him. After the money had all been discovered, a shaman came on
796 the scene. The winatum of the chief made a little fire at which the shaman manufactured
541 invisible airshot (toiyuš). Huhuna was told
789 where to sit down when "shot," and a blanket was laid out for money which would be paid the
756 shaman. When the shaman was ready, he danced about and then cast the shot at Huhuna, who fell over unconscious. His winatum carried him off to one side, whereupon all the spectators present threw down money beside him. This money, however, went to the chief sponsoring the rite, and from it the chief paid the shaman for his part in the performance. After he received his payment, the shaman proceeded to revive Huhuna by sucking the shot from him. If a chief had come with Huhuna, he too received presents of money or acorn meal for the spectators.

B.O. said that the Huhuna Dance was never performed by the Waksachi, but that he had seen it "three or four times in Wukchumni places [villages]."

W Pleasure Dance.--This dance (hɛ ǯɩšnəˊnɩč)
Y was done in the evening at any time of year, though it would not be done for more than one
535 night in several weeks, i.e., it would not be made two or more nights in succession. There

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[193] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 375.

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was no special costume, no singers, no payment, and [inferentially] no women participants. The dancers were usually youths of eighteen to twenty years, though married or older men could join if they wished. About ten men would stand in a circle with a leader in the center. At his command each one sang and danced in turn. S.O. could not describe the songs or steps. There was no training or special knowledge for this: "a man just learned by watching."

Women's dance.--Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that there were no dances exclusively for women participants among the Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi. B.O. pointed out that, "even when women danced with men, the latter outnumbered them."

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Coyote clowning.--Coyote clowning which, according to S.O., constituted a coda or accompaniment to any kind of ritual celebration, was associated with a lineage having Coyote as its totem. The performers would be asked to various celebrations and they "had to go" although they were paid for the service. The best Coyote dancers came from the Wukchumni, among whom the most notable performer was a Gawia, Ka´osana;[194] there was another at Squaw Valley whose name was not recalled. At the village of Tušao "there was no one who knew how to do it right but they'd get in and play too if they felt like it." The informant so strongly sensed the obscenities of the clowning that he not only refused to describe the behavior, but was reluctant to discuss the matter at all. He said the performers had large circles of black, white, and red paint on their faces. They "danced around" outdoors, never entering houses.

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[831]

Shamans' Contest

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This performance was not a Waksachi or Michahai institution and, if given in connection with the Annual Mourning Ceremony or at any other time, was presented by outsiders who were hired to make the spectacle. Both S.O. and B.O. had seen it at Tušao but not at Čitatu. S.O. described it.

Two fires were made by local winatums who assisted the shamans and were paid both by them and by their chiefs for so doing. A group of five or six singers sat at one side, but sang for the benefit of all contestants. At this time they were called a´nṭahum ile´hıč (doctors' singers). As accompaniment they used the cocoon rattle (čaoıč) and clapper (ṭa´ohıl).

Normally the chief responsible (the host) would have his winatums ask for an exhibit of airshot by each entrant to assure their capacity as fit participants. The airshot which was visible (tusa´š) "looked like little white

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[194] Henry Aichow's father-in-law. See M.L.'s account for the Wukchumni.

[P. 249 b] Western Mono N. 25

W Y 756 789 pebbles," but the killing shot (toi´uš) was invisible. The shot was made at the fire, which in some manner drew power from the sun. The shamans sprinkled eagle or falcon down on the fire and something called ai´´ap, which "looked like salt." They made seizing motions over the fire with their hands and slapped them on their basketry trays where the pebblelike shot appeared. While doing all this, they addressed the sun prayerfully.

Any shaman who thought he had sufficient supernatural strength was free to enter. They chose their own side of battle; no chief told them. (However, with shamans' cliques and chiefly sponsorship of shamans there was undoubtedly prearrangement, at least among the shamans, in some contests.)

W Y [534] When the contest was to start, the opposing shamans stood opposite each other some thirty feet apart. Each had an eagle-bone whistle in his mouth which he blew constantly and he held his tray loaded with airshot in his hands. At a shout from a winatum the shamans slapped their trays on the ground to propel the shot at their opponents. They might do this two or three times before a hit was made. When a victim fell unconscious, he was carried aside by winatums. As usual, the surviving shaman had to go around extracting shots from the fallen. If these were let remain, "a sickness would grow from them" even if the doctor regained normal consciousness. The method of recovery, as described by S.O., was rubbing the victim with hands cupped, not by sucking. If a shaman seemed to have lingering ill effects after the contest, his chief sent his winatum to summon the shaman believed responsible: the shaman _had_ to remove the cause and was not paid for this second effort.[195]

Annual Mourning Ceremony

W Y 769 Villages the size of Čitatu or Tušao would have a large mourning ceremony (unarano´gan, Waksachi) about every two years. Normally there were not a sufficient number of deaths to warrant one every year; that is, the expenses were too great for just one family, say, to support. Money, baskets, and other gifts of value, and great quantities of food stuffs had to be accumulated in advance. W Y [426] The lending of money for interest in this connection was known to both Waksachi and Michahai and called by the Yokuts term, lak·na´n·č, but it is doubtful that the custom was practiced here; certainly it was not established.[196]

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[195] In spite of this obligation the Shamans' Contest was a vehicle for intrigue if conniving chiefs and shamans cared to make it so (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans).

W Y [182] [196] That is, money-lending, which was a normal part of everyday life, was not integrated with the mourning ceremony.

881 The Jimson weed roots were crushed and soaked for some days.
276 When the time for drinking came, the old man took the basket of
liquid and said:

[539] Drink this water for Tüüsiut;
Drink this water for that Pamasiut;
Drink this water for that Yuhahait.

Twice he moved the basket toward the novice; the third time he held it toward the novice's mouth. When all the boys had drunk, they were taken away from the village, to places where they would be undisturbed, by older men who watched over them. The boys seem to have slept off their intoxication outdoors; as an open-air affair, the ceremony was made during the dry season, apparently in spring.

The participants underwent the rite for their own good. The Jimson weed would give them health, long life, ability to dodge arrows in battle, and general prosperity.

If a boy vomited his dose of drug, it was taken as a sign that he would die, and his relatives paid the old master of ceremonies for praying to avert this threatening fate.

184 Such was the ritual among the southern Yokuts. The Dumna,
among whom the participants were men, practiced it somewhat dif-
881 ferently. The roots were shaved instead of pounded. The master
276 of ceremonies is mentioned not as having prayed, but as singing,
before giving the liquid. The drinking took place in the sweat
house and was followed, before the intoxication took effect, by a
brief dance of the participants. Men would experience or obtain
[787] what they saw in their visions; the sight of beads would make the
dreamer wealthy.

THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY.

796 Other public ceremonials of the Yokuts were in the hands of medi-
cine men. They were not performed by participants following an
●756 anciently established ritual learned from preceding generations, nor
by initiates into an esoteric cult or priesthood, but by shamans who, in their own persons, held communication with the source of the supernatural. The ceremonies were in essence a demonstration of the *tipni*, the magic power, possessed by these men—sometimes for the public good, at others merely as exhibitions.

The most spectacular of these shaman's performances was a rattlesnake ceremony, somewhat suggesting the famous snake dance of the Arizona Hopi. The Yokuts called this institution, according to dialect, *Daidangich*, *Datela*, or *Datlawash*, namely, "stepping on."

[787] Early in spring, before the snakes had come out, the *tüüdum* or
men to whom a rattlesnake had spoken in their dreams, executed

the rite in order that none of the people might be bitten during 796
the ensuing year. Proceeding in a procession to a rattlesnake den, 756
they stamped and whistled before it, the head shaman directly facing [787]
the hole, the others on the sides to cut off the return of such snakes
as might falter at the impending ordeal.

Soon, it is said, the snakes would emerge, usually preceded, it [825]
was believed, by a large lizard, and, drawn on by the leading shaman, they crawled straight to his feet, where they buried themselves in a winnowing basket filled with eagle down. Each medicine man in turn pointed out the snake he considered his, distracted its attention by swinging his *wacham* or hand-feathers, seized it, and carried it off in a sack. The worst snake of the lot was left for the head "doctor."

In the evening the tribe gathered under the inevitable shade. While the singers chanted particular melodies to the accompaniment [198]
of cocoon rattles the snake shamans walked about whistling, each with his death-bearing sack. They wore down-filled head nets [302]
and were painted in alternate horizontal stripes of white and red drawn across the body and limbs. From time to time they placed their bags on the heads of spectators, declaring that thus they determined who was subject to snake bite during the year.

On the following day these prospective victims of the serpents are cured in anticipation in order to prevent their being bitten. Although their infection is entirely imaginary and future, it is treated by the snake shamans by their usual medical means of sucking. [755]
The doctors even profess to extract from the not yet existing wound the actual poison—usually a rat's tail or tooth or a small snake—which has already been injected into the body by the future piercing of the skin by the rattlesnake's fangs. This is certainly magic with a vengeance; and it is difficult to imagine a logic of causality more in conflict with our own.

This precaution for the health of the community having been taken, the snake shamans display their powers to the multitude. They play with the snakes, throw them about, tease them to anger, allow them to bite themselves, and even hold them out hanging by their fangs from the thumb or hand.

The *kuyohoch* or "shaman killers"—in California the doctor is also potentially a nefarious wizard—then appear. Pretending to be trying to shoot the rattlesnake shamans, they make these beg for their lives and pay ransom for being spared.

The last act of the ceremony, the "stepping" itself, is also costly to the shamans, who, far from exploiting the community through their powers, as we might anticipate, are forced to accumulate much property in order to pass through the rite. The rattlesnakes are now

796 in a small hole outdoors. The people come with sticks from which
hang crude imitations of shell money; the chiefs' prerogative is to
756 bear poles of such length that they can be made only by splicing.
Everyone professes a strong wish to prod the snakes in the pit.
The shamans feel equal alarm for the safety of their darlings, and
purchase the lives of them by paying each man the equivalent
in real money of the length of bark or rag on his stick.

Finally the entire community files past the hole, each man, woman, or child placing the right foot into or over it. This insures that for a year every approached snake will rattle in warning instead of striking blindly; and with this act the ceremony ends.

A rattlesnake ceremony song:

[539] The king snake said to the rattlesnake:
Do not touch me!
You can do nothing with me.
Lying with your belly full,
Rattlesnake of the rock pile,
Do not touch me!
There is nothing you can do,
You rattlesnake with your belly full,
Lying where the ground-squirrel holes are thick.
Do not touch me!
What can you do to me?
Rattlesnake in the tree clump,
Stretched in the shade,
You can do nothing;
Do not touch me!
Rattlesnake of the plains,
You whose white eye
The sun shines on,
Do not touch me!

The implied idea probably is that the repetition of the words used by the king snake when he successfully defied and evaded his venomous opponent will bring about a recurrence of his safety for the human being who in his turn encounters a rattlesnake.

[184] Such was the Yaudanchi practice, which the Yauelmani, Tachi, and Kashowu approximated. Only the Chukchansi are again un-Yokuts-like and dispense with the ceremony.

OTHER CEREMONIES.

The *Heshwash*, or "hiding" ceremony, is a public intertribal contest of medicine men, who test their superiority in bewitching one another. The shamans dress as for a dance. In the evening they seat themselves in two parties under a shade, while special *heshwash* songs are sung to cocoon rattling and the expectant multitude watches. The performers try to inject their disease objects or "poi-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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son" into their opponents, and strike at each other with winnowing 796
baskets. Often, when struck, they are able to extract the magic 756
missile, but sometimes fail, whereupon the victors shout "*Wuwuwuwuwu!*" and receive pay for withdrawing their paralyzing power. On the first evening the performance is brief, a sort of warming up. The next night the shamans go at each other in earnest, and contend until morning. Although no public benefit whatever results, this rite appears to be rated more highly than the rattlesnake ceremony, on the ground that a greater number of medicine men participate. Shamans of special powers as opposed to bewitching and curative abilities do not enter the *heshwash:* rain, bear, and snake "doctors" stay out.

This contest of supernatural abilities has northern parallels; as [171]
among the Yuki in their *hulk'ilal* ceremonies. But the setting, meaning, and organization of the performances are different. In the one case there is a secret society of initiated impersonators; in the other an assembly of shamans with personally acquired powers. A nearer parallel is found among the Maidu shamans' competitions.

The *Ohowish* or "wishing" ceremony is also a pure demonstration [789]
of supernatural power. Sleight of hand is the central feature, as suggestion is in the *heshwash.* Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the *ohowich* medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such displays appear to be the kernel of the ceremony, which ends toward morning by the performing shamans "fighting" one another magically.

The medicine bags here referred to savor of Plains Indian ideas [171]
more than of native Californian practices; although there is Pomo parallel.

The *Heshwash* and *Ohowish* extend from the southernmost tribes at least to the Tachi and Gashown; the habits of the Chukchansi are not known.

The *Ha'ishat* is a nonshamanistic dance, whose relation to other 535
ceremonies, or purpose other than pleasure, has not become clear. 527
A place and time, perhaps 12 days ahead, are appointed. The invitees then busy themselves securing quantities of food, laden with which they start out, and make camp for the night a mile or more away from the designated spot. In the morning the entire tribe, men, women, and children, every one carrying his pack of provisions, dance in a long single file, to the usual Yokuts "piston-rod step," all the way in to the meeting place. This must have been a most pic-

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out from them, failed to reach the Yokuts. This is clear both from 171
their nonuse of sand paintings and their ignorance of the great deity 177
Chungichnish or any equivalent.

On the other hand, the Yauelmani, and perhaps other southern 776
Yokuts tribes, appear to have borrowed from the nearer Shoshoneans
or southern Californians, probably the Kitanemuk, the concept of a 177
group of gods, apparently anthropomorphic, and associated with ritual rather than myth. Three of these, who have no exact Shoshonean counterpart, have already been mentioned in the Jimson weed rite; but the full number is seven, of whom four correspond in name to the first four among six Serrano deities. As referred to in an intoned prayer, recited not so much for the achievement of any specific wish as for the general fulfillment of good fortune, these deities are the following: [782
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Do you see me!
See me, Tüüshiut!
See me, Pamashiut!
See me, Yuhahait!
See me, Echepat!
See me, Pitsuriut!
See me, Tsukit!
See me, Ukat!
Do you all help me!
My words are tied in one
With the great mountains,
With the great rocks,
With the great trees,
In one with my body
And my heart.
Do you all help me
With supernatural power,
And you, day,
And you, night!
All of you see me
One with this world!

A certain vastness of conception and profoundness of feeling, rising above any petty concrete desire, can not be denied this petition, crude though the undeveloped vocabulary of its speech leaves its wording.

SHAMANISM.

The Yokuts shaman is called *antu* or *angtu*—with a reference to 756 ●
poisoning—by the southern tribes; *tuponot* by the Tachi; *teish*, 192
"maker," by the Chukchansi. The latter word reappears in the south as *tesh* and with the Tachi as *teshich gonom* as the designation of the "rain doctors" or weather shamans. *Hopodno*, sometimes

● 756 used as if a synonym, seems to have been the name of an individual of unusual repute in these matters who lived at or near Tejon about
192 two generations ago. Perhaps his appellation too was at bottom a generic one.

The *ohowich*, the "willing" or "seeking" doctor, has already been mentioned. The bear doctor is called simply "grizzly bear," *noho'o* or *ngoho'o*, according to dialect.

MANA.

778 Supernatural power, beings, or things are called by all the Yokuts *tipni* or *chipni:* a word from which Tachi *tuponot* is probably derived by one of the vowel mutations characteristic of the language. The word *tipni* itself is likely to be connected with *tipin*, "above," in a spatial sense, or "top, high, sky, up." It is the obvious equivalent of *mana*, *orenda*, *wakanda*, and *manitou*. In some usages the term clearly refers to beings, monsters, or spirits. In other connections it is said that a man, say a shaman, is *tipni* or possibly that he has *tipni*. In the above prayer to the seven gods, the word seems to mean "with supernatural power"; but a translation by "supernatural ones" is also possible. Altogether, it is clear that *tipni* is used indifferently as a noun and as an adjective; and that it is employed, according to circumstance, to denote spirits, supernatural or monstrous beings of any sort, men who possess spiritual or magical power, and, if indications are not deceiving the essence or power or quality itself.

This diversity of usage seems to be as characteristic of the more familiar synonyms in other languages as of Yokuts *tipni;* and it follows, therefore, that the question of whether these words denote rather an essence or a definite personalized spirit in the literal sense is not a problem to be settled by psychological interpretation, but one for which the tools and knowledge of the philologist are indispensable, and that the latter's answer is likely to be that the terms are used with both meanings and adjectively as well as substantively; with reference on one occasion to quality, on others, to personality. There must have been a time when our own word "spirit" was capable of denoting in one sentence the breath itself, the physical flow of air from the lungs, and in the next an immaterial thing resembling the entire body of a man but possessed of faculties that do not belong to the body. Just so, to-day and among ourselves, "spirit" at times indubitably denotes such an anthropomorphic but intangible personality, and nothing else; at others, an abstract and impersonal essence or quality or force. It would be rash to maintain that its real meaning in our minds and in our civilization was only one of these two aspects and that when used in the other sense

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it was so used as a conscious metaphor or from deliberate desire to 778
present as personal something known to be impersonal, or as general
something known to be specifically limited. It is just as strained,
or more so, to force this alternative on the less developed and simpler terminology of uncivilized people.

The choice that has been made between the understanding of *mana*, *orenda*, or *manitou* as denotive of an essence, or of a particularized ghostlike personality, has done violence to a distinctive quality of the concepts residing in these words, namely, their undifferentiated poise between our two extreme formulations. A native who has learned the significance of our phrases "essence," "pervading quality," "intangible diffused power," will of his own accord give these definitions for his own concept; but at other times he will as blithely render it by "spirit" in the sense of something limited, personal, and spatial.

With the Chukchansi, *beniti* means clairvoyant, and among the 778
Yauelmani *suhua* denotes the faculty of magical creation out of 192
nothing by means of blowing.

A ghost is *hichwaiu* or *hitwaia* to the Yokuts. The soul is called *ilit* by the Tachi. The word for heart, *honhon* or *honghong*, is not used in this sense.

There is bare possibility that shamanism, the individual relation 778
of persons to what is *tipni*, is distantly related to the totemic observ- 756 ●
ances and beliefs of the Yokuts, but specific evidences of direct con-
nections are rare. One of the few is the coincidence that both the 825
"pet" or captive or totemic animal, and the doctor's guardian spirit from whom his *tipni* power emanates, are called *puus* or *cheshesh*, "dog"; *cheshesh nim ngohoo*, "my dog is the grizzly bear," a Yaudanchi bear shaman says. But again, poverty of vocabulary can not be relied upon to prove a common growth of institutions.

SOURCE OF THE SHAMAN'S POWER.

The northern California idea of shamanistic power is bound up 756
with the notion of control over small, animate, disease-bearing ob- 776
jects, these material "pains" having many of the faculties of spirits. This special form of the nearly universal concept that sickness is produced by an injected substance is not even in rudiment a part of the San Joaquin Valley culture. The Yokuts shaman owns a spirit. This may be a monster, or an animal that turns into a man, or possibly a permanently disembodied spirit. It is certainly most often one of the two former. It may be met in actuality, or dreamed of, or both. But it is a being, with an independent existence, and with a defined relation between it and the medicine man; not a little noxious thing, a sort of animated fetish or amulet, that he swallows and keeps inside his body.

756 Shamanistic power among the Yokuts comes both unsought and to men desirous of acquiring it. It is most commonly derived from
778 animals or monsters inhabiting the water, or from their appearances
787 in dreams after their haunts have been frequented; but visits by dead relatives, which are so frequent a stimulus among the northern California tribes, are also mentioned as a source of the conferment. The bear doctor, of course, has bears as his spirit; the rattlesnake shaman, the sun, as with the Yuki. The rain doctor alone has his power associated more directly with an amulet than with any spirit.

The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in [823] pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface. A Yaudanchi, with two boy companions, caught a *wetapkul*, a long, large-eyed fish, which makes doctors by swallowing them. At once a great whirlwind circled, the trees broke, the water rose, and the three persons fled for their lives. That night in his sleep the monster came to the young man and [539] gave him this song:

Whose is this fish to shoot?
Your hand feathers are panting!

The hand feathers are the *wacham* dance ornament used by doctors; they seem to symbolize the moving gills of the water monster.

Another southern Yokuts at dusk met two strangers, who took him with them into the stream, through two doors, one formed of a snake, one of a turtle. He had become unconscious. Inside their house the otters, for such they had become, resumed human shape. They offered *tipni* power to their guest, with the threat that he could not live if he refused. He took the gift, but asked for instructions concerning it. "You shall cure the sick, not kill human beings," was the naïve order he received with his song. When the man awoke he was on land once more, and dry as if he had never [539] left the earth. This is his song:

The other says: Run in the brush;
Run in the brush, I hear continually.

Two instances of the genesis of bear doctors:

A Yaudanchi hunter was taken by a grizzly into its hidden house inside the rock, where it drew off its skin and became human. Others joined the circle, and a dance began. Suddenly a dog barked and the dance stopped. The man remained with his hosts several days.

A Tachi bathed at night. At last a bear appeared in his dreams and instructed him. After many years, not before middle life, he reached the power of becoming a bear at will. He swam in a pool, emerged as the animal, and

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went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary. 778 787

The long period of training before full power is attained seems characteristic for Yokuts bear shamans, as for Yuki. 756

A bear doctor's song: 778

Again he comes, 787
Again the grizzly bear comes to me. 533

A shaman named Mayemai dreamed that his father sang to him: 539

Listen to me,
Mayemai!
There in the east
I shall emerge
Twirling
My hand feathers.

An eagle dance song, originally dreamed:

The earth quakes.
See my eagle
Emerging at the open place!

Coyote songs, dreamed, and perhaps also of moiety totemic reference:

Whirling in front of you,
It is mourned for,
The rope of our world

I am coyote,
We are coyotes.
The earth told them,
The earth said:
You shall not continually scratch me.

Coyote said:
What am I?
I am coyote.
I am of the water.
What am I?
I am coyote.

The frankness of these songs in allusions to the supernatural experience and mention of the guardian, and that in words which are far less altered to fit the rhythm than is customary in California, is remarkable. 756

The doctor's initiation dance of northern California has not been referred to among the Yokuts and seems not to have been practiced.

DISEASE AND CURE.

Three principal methods of curing disease are followed, besides the administration of herbs and parts of animals. Sucking the disease object, a pebble or bit of something, is universal. This is linked 755

755 with bloodletting and singing. The Tachi class themselves with the
northern tribes as addicted to the former, the southerners as specialists
in the latter. A good southern doctor can even kill by his song
or restore the dead to life, provided he is summoned in time. Bloodletting
was often joined with sucking. The skin was cut, and first
[757] blood and then the disease object drawn out. Among the Chukchansi,
who have women practitioners as well as men, the inferior
shamans sucked only blood. Cuts between the eyes were commonly
made for headache, sleepwalking, and other chronic but light ailments.
Most of the Chukchansi even to-day carry several such scars.

The use of irritants was not unknown. For stomach ache ants
were applied to the abdomen; if the pain did not yield, the insects
were wrapped in eagle down and swallowed.

● 756 His pipe was one of the resources of a doctor; he could cause sickness
[276 by blowing tobacco smoke, and perhaps cure by the same method.

The shaman's rattle was the usual California one, but was a little
754] thing with but one or two cocoons. (Fig. 37, *a*.) Occasionally a
larger number of cocoons were tied up in a mass of feathers. (Fig.
[533] 37, *f*.) A favorite habit was for the doctor to sing softly to himself
before lying down to sleep.

The repeatedly unsuccessful medicine man stood in danger of his
own life, and it appears that violence was the end of members of the
profession as often as among most California tribes. Even today
American law has not entirely extirpated this system of reprisal.
754 In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman
bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed and soon died.
756 When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed
683 at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs
restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have
been the end of the matter except for talk.

BEAR SHAMANS.

756 The bear doctor did not cure disease, though there is a recorded
instance of one who eased his daughter's childbirth by giving her
[755] bear's hair to drink. On the other hand, the Chukchansi accused
[754] bear doctors of making their private enemies ill by shooting little
stones into them. Only the Tachi attributed particular curative
powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the
function of this class of shamans, other than as exhibitors of their
powers, is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they
[771] seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as
among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class
might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.

The Chukchansi know of a female shaman who on being killed 756 and buried emerged from the ground in the shape of a bear and walked off unmolested. The Tachi ascribe to their bear doctors, and of course especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped or roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors.

While the valley Tachi bear doctor might dance over a patient, the Choinimni and Yaudanchi had a public dance of such personages, held outdoors. The exhibition is described as harmless in effect, and the dancers were paid, but the purpose of the demonstration, except as a demonstration, is obscure. Obviously the ceremony falls into the same class as the *Ohowish*, *Heshwash*, and rattlesnake stepping rites already mentioned. [302 The two or three participants were painted entirely black, 292] and were naked save for a headband of eagle down and a claw necklace, or skin around the loins, that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. [535] The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. The step was a short stiff leap with a heavy land. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe.

RATTLESNAKE SHAMANS.

The Chukchansi, among whom the public stepping ceremony was 752 lacking or slenderly developed, nevertheless had shamans who cured 755 rattlesnake bites. The poison was sucked out with a bone whistle, pointed, however, at the sun, and not at the bitten part. The poison was then displayed as a salivalike string—no doubt from the shaman's own mouth—and put away in a basket to be kept by him. The connection of rattlesnake and sun has already been alluded to as regards the shaman's spirit. The Yaudanchi rattlesnake doctor extracted gopher teeth by direct sucking: as the snake feeds on gophers, it retains their teeth to inject as poison.

Rattlesnake doctors are said to have received only moderate fees, 756 as contrasted with the bankrupting payment to the Yuki shaman; and 171 rattlesnakes are declared to have been killed, though reluctance to do this is so great among most other California Indians that it may be supposed that even among the Yokuts a common man would not lightly perform the act.

2:Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

WEATHER SHAMANS.

● 756 789 The weather doctor chiefly brought on rain, perhaps when it was needed, more often, it appears, like Samuel before the people, to prove his power. Again the national inclination toward public recognition of shamanistic displays is manifest. The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners.

[778] [428] The Chukchansi mention only blowing and the dipping of fingers into water as means of making rain; but the Tachi and southern tribes describe cylindrical stones, 6 to 8 inches long, pointed at one end, as the necessary apparatus. Moistened or dipped a little into water, the amulet produced a shower; but if the doctor was angered, he plunged the whole stone in and a violent storm followed. These objects, which suggest the well-known "charm stones" of the California archaeologist, but were probably a distinct though similar type, were inherited from father to son; and the Tachi go so far as to say that the theft of his amulet would deprive the owner of his power. Spirits are nowhere mentioned directly in connection with the rain-making faculty.

Moss, rock	*Yah-kow in-sum'-sum*	192
Poppy, Escholtzia, Californica	*Aw-wah e-tus*	824
Poppy, wild	*Yoh-eh me-yuh*	
Rose, wild	*Haw-uh'-wus*	
Sequoia (big tree)	*Toos-pung-ish*	
Soap root	*Trak-quat*	
Sunflower	*Wah-suh-wi*	
Sagebrush, mountain	*Home-nuh*	
Turkey Mullen	*You-huh*	
Tulip, Mariposa	*Gow-me'-yuh*	
Tulip, Star	*Cah-mi'-yuh*	
Thistle, Drummond	*Sah-du'-dah*	
Thistle, ground	*Sah-du'-dah*	
Thistle, California	*Sah-du'-dah*	
Thistle, Anderson	*Sah-du'-dah*	
Tongue, Western Hounds	*Tah-dud*	
Water Grass	*Kah-uh'-pe*	
Weed, salt	*Sick-id Ku-you*	
Weed, Tumble	*Tow-it'-chits*	
Yerba Santa or Mt. Balm	*Kits-in'-ne*	

EDIBLE AND MEDICINAL PLANTS

The practice of medicine by Indians is not often well un- 758
derstood. White settlers have generally stated that the Indian 824
doctor practiced witchery. This is without question the truth.
Two degrees were granted in medicine by the Yokuts—*Ahntru*
(Ahn'-troo) and *Tripne* (Trip'-ne). Indian doctors first attained the Ahntru degree. They could cure complaints with
roots and herbs and some claimed to be able to cure by magic.
Both men and women might be Ahntru. The Tripne Indian
doctor, or medicine man, was a shaman, or fakir, and was call- 756
ed in after practical medicines had failed. He was feared by 683
the rest of the tribe and upon the death of his third patient,
or when he was suspected of having used his supernatural
power to cause a death, was himself generally put to death.

The practice of the Tripne medicine man consisted of a 755
weird sing-song chant for the purpose of driving away evil spirits, of blood letting, of pounding and hammering the patient, and of the pretense of removing the pain by means of cutting and drawing off the blood and object causing the pain from the cut through a tube or the hollow of the hand.

796 statements. The first one was taken from Ichow, who, when he
passed away in 1937, was the last chief of the Wukchumne:

"When I was about eight years old I go to Dunlap with
796 my mother to see her father, *Chechin*. He was rattlesnake
159 doctor. When we get there, them Indians have big rattlesnake
756 dance. My grandpa, Chechin, he was big man in that dance. I
saw all of it.

"Chechin and one Dunlap rattlesnake doctor put on that whole dance. The night before that dance I have to sleep with Chechin. He hang his basket with rattlesnake in on wall over our bed. I have to sleep next that wall. I don't like that. In night rattlesnake wake up and rattle little bit. Then I wake up quick. I think, 'He's comin' out.' So I poke Chechin with my elbow and tell him, 'Grandpa, that rattlesnake he's rattlin'. I think he's comin' out.' But Chechin he say, 'He just dreamin'. He dream he see something. He no wake. He sleep. He no comin' out.'

"I listen long time. I don't hear any more rattlin'. But I don't sleep much more that night. After that I sleep some place else. I think I not gonna be rattlesnake doctor.

"Them rattlesnake doctors do that dance to make money. Them people pay them doctors so they won't get bit by rattlesnake that summer. Them doctors dig two holes in ground. They then put baskets in hole. They call them baskets *Tawits* (Tay'-wits). They put soft eagle feathers in baskets. They put snakes on feathers. They sit beside that basket with legs crossed. They put *Chapet* (flat basket tray) beside them.

"Sometimes them doctors take snake out of basket, hold
snake in hands and dance around among them people. Then
they put snake back in Tawits. People dance around in circle
and stop, put bare foot in Tawits over rattlesnake. If snake no
bite they throw money in Tawits, or on Chapet. Some put ten
cents, some two bits, some fifty cents; some one dollar. Then
[751] they don't get bit until next spring, when they have 'nother
rattlesnake dance just before them rattlesnakes come out."

Pohut, a Wukchumne who lived his entire life about Lemon Cove and Woodlake, attended several rattlesnake dances, including the last one held. He knew more details of the ceremony, including the manner of catching the snakes and handling them. His story follows:

"I help my grandfather, Chechin, [Pohut was a first cousin to Ichow.] catch his rattlesnake when we go to that

159

Porterville rattlesnake dance. I 'bout twelve years old. Grandfather put some soft eagle-down feathers in two *chawmish* blackberry gathering baskets and we go to rock pile near Lemon Cove where snakes live. 796 756

"Grandfather whistle low and sing rattlesnake song. That call snakes out of rock pile. He put chapet, flat basketry tray, on ground. He put some fine eagle-down on chapet. Them rattlesnakes come out one by one and crawl to that chapet. Chechin let 'bout three snakes go away. Then he see one snake he want. That snake try to run away.

"Chechin got long pole. He tease that snake with that pole. He walk 'round and 'round that snake. That snake coil. Chechin keep teasin' that snake. All the time he sing and talk and whistle low. Then that snake twist up in knot. Chechin put that chapet over it. He keep talkin' and whistlin'. He call me.

"I come with the *chawmish*. Chechin put his hand under that snake and lift it up and put it in chawmish. Then he send me to house with snake.

"When I left, Chechin caught 'nother snake and put it in other chawmish. Then we go back to camp, Chechin tie some strings across top my chawmish and carry it up in high oak tree. He hang chawmish from limb. He want use that snake when he come back from Porterville. But when he came back he see that oak limb he's dry. He said, 'Well, I guess my snake he kill that limb and get out.' Sure enough, that snake he's gone. But Chechin track that snake across sand flat to rock pile and call it again. When that snake come out Chechin talk to it and say, 'You don't want to see them people, so you can go'.

"Next day after we catch them snakes we go to Porterville Indian Reservation. We go up Yokohl Valley and across Frazer Valley to Tule River where they got that Monache Indian Reservation. I ride horseback and carry one snake in basket on horn my saddle. Chechin rode 'nother horse and carry 'other snake. There about six *Trudum* (Troo-doom) snake doctors at that dance. They dig holes in a row and put *Tawits* (baskets) in them. Then they put them snakes on down-feathers in them Tawits. They put chapet over them Tawits.

"Each Trudum hire about two *Udkukut* (Uh-duh'-kut) singers and dancers. Them Uhdukut like clowns at your circus. They do everything wrong. They make lots trouble for them Trudum and cost them lots money. 522

159 "When we go to them tawits I go with my chawmish snake
756 basket. Chechin go 'head. He take step to one side, then step
● to other side in time with them Uhdukut singin' and dancin'.
796 Them other snake doctors do same thing. Then Chechin take
snake out my chawmish basket. He hold left hand under
snake's head, hold front of snake's body along left forearm.
He hold middle of snake with right hand and rest of snake on
his right arm.

"Each Trudum dance 'round with his snake. His relation dance 'round behind him. All time them Uhdukut singin' and dancin' one-step dance.

"While them Uhdukut singin' and dancin', them people go
in circle in front of them Trudum snake doctors. They hold
one bare foot down over them snakes. Then they throw Indian
shell money, or white man silver money in Tawits with snakes.
Some Tawits got more beads and money than snake. People
751 take their children through circle, too, so they don't get snake-bit that summer.

522 "Them Uhdukut got one clown doctor called *Kiyu* (Ki'-
yoo, Coyote). Everybody call for Kiyu. Kiyu was Indian
named *Sahlahpun*, from Tule River. Kiyu pick out bad snake
and tease it. Pretty soon that snake get mad. He strike Kiyu
159 on back his hand. Then them Trudum snake doctors try to
755 save him. They pay him lots money, 'bout fifty dollars for that
796 job. They rub ashes on him. Then they cut where that snake
bite and suck on it through wood pipe made from elderberry
limb. They take out bad blood, green things, maybe squirrel
bone, or hair. Then Kiyu get well.

159 'It's Kiyu's business to make lots of fun, too. He run
756 'round and get in them Uhdukuk, snake doctor's way. He do
796 that at every place I see that rattlesnake dance, Porterville,
522 Dunlap, Centerville.

"Sometimes them Kiyu got bad luck. Once *Puslilin*
159 (Poos-lill'-in) from Squaw Valley, was Kiyu at dance at Dun-
756 lap. He tease big snake. Chechin tell him, 'Better you take
little one'. But Puslilin want big one. Then Chechin take
796 Puslilin away and talk to him. He tell Puslilin he see buzzard
777 kill squirrel. That sure to mean real bad luck for somebody.
That buzzard catch live squirrel and carry it high up in air and
drop it. It fall on Puslilin's bed. Then that buzzard come
down to eat that squirrel. But it on Puslilin's bed, so he 'fraid
to take it. He go away. That's sure real bad luck for Puslilin.

"But Puslilin already got one hundred dollars silver pay, 159
so he go 'head anyway. Them Uhdukut snake doctors got to 756
pay Puslilin that money. It take almost all money them doctors 796
got from doctorin' them people. But they got to pay him anyway to show they can sure cure snake bite. Chechin tell Puslilin, 'Well, you goin'to die tonight'. Puslilin squeeze that snake head and throw it on the ground. It strike him on both hands. Then that Uhdukut take his snake and put it back in his Tawits basket. Then Puslilin fall down.

"Two Uhdukut doctors take Puslilin to his bed where that 159
squirrel fall. They begin to doctor him. They work on him all 755
night. They tie one *pisasin*, eagle down string, around each 796
arm below his shoulder. Then doctors have all them people yell so Puslilin can't go to sleep and die. About sun-up Puslilin get better, so all them people stop yellin'. But Puslilin lost one finger that rattlesnake bit."

Tawpnaw, an aged Wukchumne, saw six rattlesnake 159
dances. His story verifies those of Ichow and Pohut and adds 756
a few details which are related below: 796

"When them Wukchumne snake doctors get ready for that rattlesnake dance they paint their faces. They paint white [303]
and red stripes across faces. They put three red and three white stripes on each cheek. Some tribe doctors paint stripes across arms, chest, too.

"When that dance all over, them people don't get snakebit all summer. If Indian man hunt deer, rattlesnake won't bite him. If Indian woman gather seeds, rattlesnake won't bite 'em. If rattlesnake do bite 'em, them Indian snake doctor got to cure 'em free.

"Them Indian snake doctors keep snakes in *awsuh* [bottlenecked stitched baskets]. When they first catch snakes they put 'em in chawmish [blackberry gathering twined basket]. I see that all time. I know that's right."

As this manuscript is being completed there is one Yokuts 756
man living who attended the rattlesnake dances and who remembers how they were conducted. He is *Wahumchah*, a 796
Yowlumne. He adds to the foregoing descriptions the rattle- 198
snake doctor's song. This song is about a rattlesnake who is crawling on the ground and looking up at a magpie nest in a tree. He wants to eat the young birds in the nest, but he cannot climb the tree. Wahumchah has explained that the Yokuts [533
songs do not have the same words as the rest of the language. 192]

756 He says, "Them Indian Doctor don't want them people to
796 know what he singin'. So he fix he's own word so they don't
198 understand 'em."

This is a wonderful example of the common behavior of all men. Until late historic times did not the legal profession practice in Latin? And until recently did not all doctors of medicine write their prescriptions in latin for the identical reason as did those primitive Yokuts medicine men. Following is the song, together with the interpretation given by Wahumchah:

539 *O, Chochin witche pah*
(There is a bird's children)
O, Chochine miah wiche pah
(Oh bird, I want your children)
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochin witche pah
O, Yoe hete ketre ehe dinne
(Poor rattlesnake)
Kiowki nowu utu sudongtow
(I am looking in the tree)
O, Chochine miah witche pah
Yah weah ------ yah!
(Everyone hear me).

159
769
[133]

This grey, granite-strewn hill about two miles east of Woodlake, resembles the Yokuts blue heron clown when he had fallen during his dance, so the Wukchumne called it **Ho-hu'-no.**

[535] Hohuno never spoke. He called, "Ho-hoo'-no," and whistled low. He danced light on the tips of his toes. He almost seemed to float around without touching the ground. He made shivers run up our backs.

People hid things and Hohuno found them. They would put beads in the grass, or under something. They hung some in a tree. Some they buried in the ground. Hohuno danced and whistled around the fires, going to one person and then another calling, "Ho-hoo'-no." He would dance backward and forward until finally he would point to where something was hid, and call, "Ho-hoo'-no." Then they had to give him what he had found. He found everything they had hid.

159 769 756 The third night the Indian doctors had a fight called *Hes-wus* [a sham battle]. This fight was by doctors who were both *Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo) and *Trip'-ne*. The *Ahntru* Doctors doctored people with medicine. They did not know as much or do as many things as the Tripne Doctors. The Tripne Doctors were very strong [supernatural]. They could do anything, make anyone die, change into coyote, bear, or eagle, or make it rain.

The *Winatun* made the fires for the doctors. They made 159 seven fires, three in a row on each side and one in the middle. 769 They then went to tell the Teah that everything was ready. 756 Everyone could see this from their camp fires. [624]

Then the Teah called, *"He'-ahn tahn'-hin."* The doctors came out in pairs and went to their fires. An Ahntru Doctor went to the middle fire. He came from the Teah camp. All were dressed in their feather skirts and feather headdress. All were painted and had their magic things along. Each one had *Chapet* (Chap'-peet), the Tripne flat basket tray.

Near the middle fire was a high pole set in the ground. It was as high as a house. On it were tied baskets, strings of beads and other rich things. They were for the dead people. Each doctor would sing his song and shake his rattle. Then he would swing his Chapet in the air and put it over first one shoulder and then the other while he was singing. Then he would slap it on the ground quickly. It made a loud noise. Some of the doctors could make some of the baskets fall from the pole with this noise. Only the Tripne Doctors could do this.

They sang this song: [539]

Ha-lahl'-mo hah'-hah hah'-hah
(Repeated four times.)

While they sang they danced to the center fire, stamping the ground with the same foot together and slapping the Chapets over their shoulders and against their sides.

The sun is just going down. They hold the Chapets up to the sun edgeways. Then they turn and dance back to their fires. One of the doctors slaps the Chapet on the ground and picks up something to shoot from his Chapet. Some get an arrow point, some a rock, some a bullet or something he can throw hard. He rubs it around the edge of his Chapet to make it Tripne.

They do not sing or talk while they do this. Everybody keeps quiet. They pass the Chapet around them at the waist and walk around their fire getting ready to fight. Then one slaps his Chapet on the ground and shoots at another doctor. Maybe the doctor falls down or he sits down. If he falls down [624] he is dead [unconscious] and the Winatuns pick him up and carry him to his camp and he is done. He does not fight anymore. [He revives and watches the rest of the exhibition].

While the doctors were fighting, *Cuksa* (Cook'-sa) played around them. The Teah told him when to go in. The Winatun [624]

dressed Cuksa

159 dressed Cuksa. He wore an Ahntru headdress and skirt. In
769 one hand he carried *trah-waht'-will,* the rattle, or clapper.

756 Cuksa sang and went around among the people. He made lots of fun doing like the Tripne Doctors did. At last the doctors began shooting at him. He fell down and his people carried him back to his camp. The doctors doctored him and he finally came alive again. The people gave him some money. He was only to make fun.

The middle doctor shot at those at the ends. When he
[624] killed one, the Winatun took him to the other side and the
doctors there doctored him. If he was not hit bad they took
[755] it out, an arrow point, acorn, rock or something. [these objects were introduced by sleight-of-hand] Then he went back to fight. If he was hit bad they took him to his camp.

There were a lot of helpers called *Chamum Maets* (Chah'-mum ma'-ets). They walked around those fighting. They yelled and disturbed the other side. Each doctor had his own Chamum Maets. They had to pay these helpers.

The middle doctor spread *saw-nil* [eagle down] around him
[237] on the ground where the other doctors had been shooting at
him. Then he brushed it up. The sawnil is Tripne and he took out of it [by sleight-of-hand] the things the other doctors had been shooting at him.

The fight was kept up until only one doctor was left. The outside people all paid the doctors while they were fighting, even after they had been hit. They gave them beads or arrows for pay. The doctors made lots of money that way. I saw all of this twice, once at *Sulawlahne* at the "Fish" Rice Ranch, south of Farmersville and once at Tule River Reservation.

The fourth night was when we came out with the clothes
159 stuffed like the dead people. About midnight they were
769 brought out and carried around and pointed at the big fire for
two or three hours. All of the time everyone was singing
[539]

Ah-hah'-nah
(We sing)
Yoo'-e uh'-la
(You are going to burn)
We-ah'-ah hah
(We are crying)
(Repeated indefinitely)

775 again on the pesasin string and traveled six days toward the south and the rancheria where his parents-in-law lived. Then he hid in the brush until after almost everyone at the rancheria had gone to sleep.

When all was quiet the husband crept quietly to the house where his parents-in-law lived and called to them. He could hear them crying softly inside. When he called they stopped crying and answered him. They were overjoyed at his return and stopped crying.

Upon being asked where he had been he said, "I have just been walking around the country. I must hide. Fix a place for me." A small lean-to was built on the side of the house. In this the husband hid. By morning no one could tell that the house had been changed at all.

In the morning the people at the rancheria were all surprised to see that the parents-in-law did not cry. They were so happy that the people knew the husband had returned. The people kept asking about him. He was just inside the thin tule partition and could hear everything that was said.

For five days and nights the husband hid and listened to the people inquiring about him. Then he could endure it no longer. He came out and told all the people to come together around the fire and he would tell them where he had been and all that he had seen. The people all came and listened to the husband's story.

Just as the husband finished talking, a rattlesnake, who was there as a watchman for Tihpiknits, bit him and he immediately fell dead.

That is how the Yokuts came to know where the dead people go and what they do in Tihpiknits Pahn.

YOIMUT'S STORY
THE GHOST DANCE

159
756 All of the Indian tribes around Tulare Lake had good Doctors. Some doctors were just *Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo). They could give people medicine and help them a little. But they could not help very much. Some of the doctors were *Trip'-ne* [had supernatural power]. They could do anything. They could make it rain. They could make anyone die. They could change themselves into coyote, bear, or eagle. We were always afraid of Tripne Doctors. We were not afraid of Ahnutru Doctors.

The Chunut doctors had a Tripne (magic) stone. It was 159
just like a doughnut. They called it *Cuhmumwum Weah* (Cuh- 756
moom'-wum We'-ah), the thunder and lightning stone. I used 778
to know its song, but I have forgotten it. My old uncle, *Tehnih'-pahs*, taught it to me. I think once all the Indians around Tulare Lake had these songs. They used the Cuhmumwum Weah to make thunder and lightning and to make whirlwinds and cool breezes. I saw my uncle make whirlwinds once with this stone.

The doctors had another stone. Even the Ahntru Doctors knew how to use it to doctor people. But the Tripne Doctors could do lots more things with it. It was a long stone with a hole through the middle. The *Chunut* called it *Ta'-khot-un Tis-a'-he*.

The doctor put the hollow stone over the place where the 159
person was hurting and sucked on the other end. He took the 755
pain out that way. Sometimes he took out an arrow point, rattlesnake rattles, or lizard tail. Then the sick person got well. I saw them do that.

Almost all the doctors were men. Once a man and his wife 159
were both Tripne doctors. Finally they went out of sight in 756
the middle of the day. This was at *Chaw-lo'-win*, the old *Wowol* village where Alpaugh is now. They lived there on the sand ridge for many years, but the people could never see them.

They saw tracks in the sand and saw where the doctors had dug tule roots, but they could never see the Tripne man and wife. They could see the smoke from their fires. They also found pieces of abalone shell in the sand at their camps. They brought the first abalone shell to Tulare Lake. My old uncle told me all about this. He was a Wowol.

Tumnah (Toom'-nah) was a real old Tachi when I was a little girl. We thought he was more than one hundred years old. He was a young man before the Spanish people came to Tulare Lake after the Indians. He used to tell me about how the Spanish came and took the Indians away from *Tokuh Lihnuh*, the West Side.

Once Tumnah told me about two bad Indian doctors. He 159
had helped kill one of them who lived at the old *Nutunutu* vil- 754
lage at Kingston. These doctors had killed some *Tachi* people. They would change themselves into coyotes and go sneaking around after the Tachi and making them sick. They would

159 754 sniff and smell at the Tachis and sing songs about them. The Tachi would get sick. Finally they would die.

159 754 627 One of the Tachi got sick because the doctors were following him like coyotes and smelling him. He told Tumnah. Tumnah said, "All right, we will get our bows and arrows and go over and kill him."

They got some stone pointed arrows that they kept especially to keep away the Indian doctor's magic. Stone [obsidian] pointed arrows are Tripne. They used these arrows sometimes to shoot bad doctors.

Tumnah went with the other Tachi over to Nutunutu. Some of the people there saw them coming. They ran and told the doctor that some people were coming to kill him. He did not believe it at first. He was lying on his bed in his house.

But when the Tachi came to his door he saw that they were going to kill him all right. He did not say a word. He jumped up and held his rabbit skin blanket in front of him. He started waving the blanket and singing and dancing to stop the arrows and to use his Tripne power. Most of the arrows went through and hit him, but not hard enough to kill him. The Tachi kept asking the doctor how he liked it. He kept answering, "*Een-sis* (good)."

The Tachi kept shooting arrows into the doctor and asked him, "Is that sweet?" He answered, "It is sweet." Finally one Tachi shot him with a pistol. He shot the doctor through the middle and he fell down and died.

Before I was born my father and mother were staying on Buena Vista Lake at the old village of *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne). They saw an Indian doctor killed there because he had killed some people. Afterward my people lived at Fort Tejon and went back to Tulamni, but all of the Indians were gone.

When I was grown I was at Tejon Ranch and heard some of the Indians there tell about the Indian doctor being killed at Tulamni. I have never been there. I would like to see it, but I am almost blind.

159 756 [754] When I was about seventeen years old some *Mono* Indian Doctors came from across the mountains to the east and talked to our doctors for a long time. They were worried because so many Indians had been dying. Our doctors wanted to stop the dying because they had been blamed for lots of it. So they talked about it for a long time.

The Mono Indian Doctors said that if we held a big new 159 kind of dance at Eshom valley we could stop all of the dying 756 and could bring back all of our dead people. So our doctors 769 and our Teah (Te'-ah, chief) agreed to help. They called this new dance *Heut Hetwe* (He'-ut Het'-we).

At the Eshom valley Heut Hetwe we were to see all of our dead people. *Tih-pik'-nits,* the bird person who was keeper of the hereafter, was to bring back to us our fathers, mothers, uncles, aunts and our grandparents. Then no one was to die anymore. That was why all of the Indians went to Eshom valley. The white people thought they were going to fight. They did not want to fight. They were not going to hurt anyone.

When we went to Eshom valley my people were living about three miles south of Farmersville at the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. My people called that place *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lahn'-ne). The Teah there was *Teep-wuit'-trah.* He belonged [103] to the *Wowol* tribe. He was uncle to my mother. He took us to Eshom valley.

It was a nice place in Eshom valley where the dance was held. The Indians used to go there to gather clover to eat. There was always a nice field of sweet clover there in the spring. We called Eshom valley *Chetutu* (Che-tut'-oo), or [103] clover place. There is a creek in the valley. The dance was made near a water hole in the creek.

The Eshom valley dance was the biggest dance I ever saw. Indians came from everywhere, some from Tule river and Deer Creek, some from Lemoore and some from Kings river. We went horseback from Sulawlahnne. It took us two days to go there.

The chiefs who had charge of the dance told us that we must not get angry or be mean to one another at the dance. We were to keep dancing all the time. Only the little children could sleep. If anyone did not dance he would die or turn into a rotten log of wood.

The chiefs also told us that we must bathe in the creek every morning. When the *Win-at'-un* (messenger) called we were all to run to the creek and bathe. They told us that we were going to dance the same dance that the dead people dance in *Tihpikntis Pahn* [Land of the Dead].

We danced in a big circle at Eshom valley. Sometimes [535] everybody danced at once. We held each others' hands. We

[text continues on p. 249]

moved them from our shoulders down at each step. We stepped to the left. After we got tired we just dragged one foot and then the other. Some carried little baskets of beads and threw them on the ground as they danced. We danced around and around in the same place all of the time and made a deep ditch in the ground. It was a new dance to us. It was different from the *Lonewis* (Lo-nee'-wis) dance. 159 756 769 [535]

About six or seven *Ahanich* (Ah-ha'-nitch) [professional singers] led the singing. The Indian doctors wore skirts and feather hats and danced around with the rest of us. The main song that they sang went like this: [533] [292] [539]

Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
(I will be anything)
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah'-nah nahn' een'-ah a - a
[repeat indefinitely]

I do not know all of the words, but they mean something like, "I will be anything, crow, rock, stick, rattlesnake, or anything, if our dead people come back."

All of the time we expected to see our dead people come back. We got tired, but we danced six days and nights. Once a small girl did not want to dance, but her mother made her dance anyway. After awhile the girl left the circle and went to her mother's camp. She lay down and died. The doctors worked over her for an hour or two and brought her back to life. They got a pine tree top and stood it up on her breast. Then they called all of us girls to watch her. The doctors blew on her forehead and she finally awakened.

The mother asked the girl who had died what she had seen. We thought maybe she had seen some of her dead people. But she said, "Nothing." Then she was all right again. The girl's name was *Ne-he'-ut*. She is still living at Rio Chiquito over near Kern River.

When the dance was almost over, Pleas Work and his brother, and "Club-foot" Guthrie and an Indian named *Ho'-sawm* came and told us that the white people were coming to kill all of us. We were afraid of the white people all of the time, so we all ran away into the timber and mountains. This was before the last night of the dance was over. We left without either our grub or our clothes. 159 769

he could take advantage of this opportunity to purchase desirable 622
articles. The chief's house was often made headquarters for buying 439
and selling when foreign traders appeared. Winatums were dis- 556
patched to notify other villages if the traders did not intend to go
further.

Chiefs shared in the payment received by doctors of their tribe 622
when dances were given for purposes of entertainment. Thus at the 756
annual mourning ceremony the doctors' contest, which was an in-
dispensable part of the ritual series, was performed by four to ten 541
shamans. Some of the shamans were of the local or host tribe, but the 574
majority were invited for the occasion. At such times invitations,
together with a gift of money, were sent to chiefs who were asked to [431]
bring their doctors to the ceremony. The shamans themselves were
paid by the audience. Each person present at the contest contributed
a little shell money, the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents. This
money was collected by the shamans' winatums, and the total was
divided among the shamans, the singers who accompanied their per-
formance, and the shamans' winatums.

Often a chief was asked to bring an especially talented doctor or dancer to give a performance for the specific purpose of making money. From the audience's point of view the spectacle was an entertainment which they gladly paid to see. The following account of the Huhuna dancer gives us an example of this method of making money:[36]

> The Wakeachi (WM) did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni (Y) and one from Tule River reservation that came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai (Y), too. Their names are not remembered. They came to fandangos at Tucao (the central village of the Michahai with a heavy admixture of Waksachi). They made money for Pao'ite, the chief, but they were paid for doing it.
>
> Huhuna could hear money. Before the dance began the chief had money hidden. He put up the most but anybody that wanted to could put up a little money for this. It was hidden in the ground, under a shrub, or up in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. Huhuna was brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask that covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he heard the hidden money he pointed to it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum who dug it out for him and put it in a basket.[37] After the money was all found Huhuna continued his dancing in order to make money for Pao'ite. In the meantime Pao'ite had sent his own winatum for a doctor who was to kill Huhuna with magic. He paid the doctor three or four dollars to do this. The

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[36] From Sam Osborn; see Appendix. The Huhuna dance was part of the mourning ritual series, but might be performed outside of its ceremonial context at any time.

[37] This winatum might be loaned by the local chief or might be brought along with the chief and Huhuna.

> 622 winatum made a little fire in the dance space from which the doctor manufactured
> his magical "air-shot" (toiyuc). He also told Huhuna where to sit down when
> 756 he was to be "shot." The doctor had a blanket which was laid down for his
> money to be thrown on. When the shaman was ready he danced around a bit
> 541 and then cast the invisible "shot" at Huhuna. Huhuna fell over unconscious.
> Pao'ite's winatum was standing by ready to pick up Huhuna and carry him over
> 574 to his own (Huhuna's) chief. Then all the spectators present threw down some money for Huhuna who had died. This was collected by Pao'ite's winatum and placed at Huhuna's side. It was this money which Pao'ite received. Then the spectators again gave money or acorn meal, which was presented to the visiting chief.
>
> The doctor who had shot Huhuna now came forward and went through the process of reviving his victim. This ended the performance and Huhuna and his chief went off to their camp.

The money given by the audience at Huhuna's death and received by Pao'ite totaled more than his expenses in giving the ceremony. Similarly Huhuna's chief received a greater monetary value in the money and acorn meal paid in than he paid to his dancer. The informant was uncertain whether Huhuna's chief paid him on these occasions or not.

7 Thus chiefs, though always having to pay more than any ordinary
622 citizen to entertainers or ceremonial performers, nevertheless often
made a large profit from such affairs. It is difficult to find a basis
556 for this reciprocal relationship unless it was that the dancer was more
574 likely to obtain a larger audience when sponsored by his own chief. It was not possible to hold a dance or ceremony in any village without permission from the local chief. If a dancer such as Huhuna wanted to make some money by going about to various villages, it is probable that he would be more likely to get permission to give his dance if accompanied by his own chief than if he came alone. On the other hand, such performances, outside of their ceremonial context, may have as often been instigated by the chief in his desire to make money as by the dancer himself. A similarly profitable reciprocity between chiefs and shamans will be discussed in a later section.

651 No conventional system of taxation was employed by Yokuts or
Western Mono but an equivalent method was in vogue. In the
541 description of Huhuna's dance given above we saw that each person in the audience contributed a bit of money or foodstuff to pay for the entertainment. This was usual at all public functions. At an evening festivity, perhaps a purely social affair, a chief would tell his winatum that he wanted a certain dance performed. He would give the winatum some money which the latter took to a dancer with the request for a performance. This initial payment was all that the

624 171 The occurrence of this official seems to be sporadic, and cannot be regarded as characteristic of the Yokuts and Western Mono. It seems to be a specialization of the winatum's office which is localized in the foothills and plains. Officials similar to winatums and dance managers occur in southern California among the Serrano, Desert Pass, and Mountain Cahuilla, and Cupeño.[30]

[276] There was no special official for the jimsonweed ritual. A "man of good heart" who knew how to prepare the poisonous plant usually conducted the affair.

THE SHAMAN

SOURCE AND USES OF POWER

756 The shaman, in the eyes of the Yokuts and Western Mono, was an institution as old as that of chief. In their mythology Owl appears as the prehistoric shaman whose duty it was, upon the creation of man, to sponsor and aid those human beings who took up the profession of doctoring. But neither in mythology nor in present reality does the shaman appear as a person having legal jurisdiction over his fellow-beings. His powers were exclusively occult. His supposed ability to manipulate supernatural elements for both good and evil purposes left him in an equivocal position. A doctor was both feared and respected; but whether he was more respected than feared or vice versa depended entirely upon his personal character.

756 787 The shaman's source of supernatural power was a dream helper, usually an animal. The creature appeared in a dream, often that of normal sleep during the night. It spoke to its protégé, saying "Use me," or an equivalent phrase, and gave him a song. If the person thus approached wished to accept the offered power he took care not to forget the song, and would seek another encounter with his patron in a dream experience. If the creature appeared again it was to give the man further instructions: he was told what to use as a talisman in effecting cures, and perhaps given other songs. The dream helper, though often sought, might come voluntarily to any one. No one was obliged to "take" a dream. Many people felt that the rules of fasting, praying in an isolated spot, taking a tobacco emetic, basking in the sun, and so on, which were necessary to a successful

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[30] William Duncan Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, this series, 26:18, 62, 63, 107, 108, 165–167, 251, 252, 1929.

relationship with the occult, were too troublesome. Others were afraid of attempting it lest they make a mistake and incur the ill will of the dream creature. Many people, both men and women, acquired a little power, sufficient to keep them from danger on strange trails, to cure simple illnesses of their children or friends, or to have luck in hunting and gambling. Relatively few persons, and these only men, became professional shamans. Probably many persons had sufficient power but did not wish to proclaim it. 756 787

Shaman's power was not of a peculiar sort nor was it inherited. It was merely a greater quantity, an accumulation of dream experiences, say six, to an average person's one or two. The more of such experiences one had the greater his knowledge of the occult would become, and the bond between the individual and the supernatural world increasingly strengthened. In other words, the difference between a shaman's power and that of a non-professional was one of quantity rather than of quality. As one informant expressed it: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. They got mean, tried to see what they could do just to be doing it, and finally got so they thought they could do anything by means of their power. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."[31]

The reason some people were unwilling to become professional doctors, that is, cure any individual for the purpose of making money, was because of the danger of being killed if a patient died. The exercise of supernatural power for benevolent or malevolent purposes was believed to rest entirely upon the shaman's choice. Hence a doctor who attempted to cure a patient and failed was open to suspicion: either he had not sufficient power, or he had deliberately bewitched the person and was allowing him to die. Said the same informant: "If a man died his relations thought maybe the doctor didn't really try to cure him. They would get mad and talk about it. They'd say, 'he doesn't know much,' 'he is a bad doctor,' and like that. They'd get madder while they talked and maybe decide to kill that doctor. Some of the dead man's relations would kill the doctor. There was no special man to do this. They didn't always tell the chief." 756 [683]

A doctor who lost several patients but still continued to cure was definitely believed to be malicious. First of all he was causing illness in order to make himself rich through the fees gained in administering to the sick man, and secondly, he was allowing him to die out of sheer malice.

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[31] From Sam Osborn, who himself has considerable power. He has cured immediate relatives and intimate friends but does not profess to be a doctor. [115]

756 The usual method of securing a doctor was to send a fee with the request for him to come. Shamans of reputation were often sent for even when they lived two days' journey away. Doctors traveled about a great deal and might be here or there. If the doctor accepted the fee he came as quickly as possible and began his ritual of diagnosis and cure. The performance lasted about two days, longer if the patient were slow in recovering. The doctor received an additional fee after he began his curing. A doctor of repute received from thirty to fifty dollars for visiting a patient, occasionally more if he were extremely powerful. Ordinarily a shaman did not return any of the money received even if the cure were unsuccessful and death resulted. The Kechayi (Y) informant stated that a good doctor would return the fee in case of failure. If the doctor had come from a distance he kept enough to pay for his trouble. But this was unusual. People stood in such fear of a shaman, especially one of doubtful reputation, that they preferred to let him retain the fee rather than engender his ill will by asking for its return. This custom of retaining the fee 556 increased the shaman's wealth and augmented the belief that doctors made people ill just to get their money. The usual excuse for failing to cure a patient was that the shaman who had caused the sickness had more power than the one who was attempting the cure. The name of the criminal doctor could not be disclosed even if the curing doctor suspected or knew who he was, for fear of his own life, i.e., the more powerful shaman would kill him. Only an eminent doctor who knew his occult powers to be supreme would dare to continue a cure against the animosity of another shaman.[53]

The most common cause of illness was believed to be the intrusion 753 into the body of some foreign object which had been projected by the 755 evil magic of a doctor. The extraction of this object by cutting and sucking theoretically constituted a cure. The intruding object was always exhibited upon its extraction by the curing shaman; it might be a few hairs, finger-nail clippings, insects, a blood clot, the moustache of a mountain lion, and so on.

754 The art of poisoning was known throughout south central California and was clearly distinguished from supernatural causes of sickness. When known to have caused deaths, poisoners were killed just as were shamans. The case of a bad chief who used poisons from sheer maliciousness as well as to make money will be described in a later section.

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[53] See anecdote, p. 394.

754 clicking sound like someone filliping his finger nail against his forehead. At the same instant the mother fell down; blood ran from her nose; she remained unconscious for several minutes. Her relatives picked her up and put her in the wagon. [755] They all drove over to Kingston. Tcokonik treated Josie's mother by cutting the skin between her eyebrows. He sucked out a finger-nail clipping. It was Tcokonik who had "shot" it into her from a long way off while he was at Piedra, on Kings river. They paid him $20 for his services.

Tcokonik was considered a very fine doctor because he could cure without [756] cutting. Once a man died after Tcokonik had treated him and he was accused of killing his patient. But Josie believes someone else must have killed him. Tcokonik was put in jail at Hanford for this, and on another occasion at Visalia. Bob Tista intervened for him both times. On the first occasion the man who had poisoned Tcokonik's patient ran away and was later caught, so the doctor was exonerated.

Another Choinimni doctor caused Josie herself to fall ill:

[231] About twenty years ago Josie was up in the Kaweah river foothills shearing sheep. There too was a Choinimni doctor named Tcukpa. He and Josie talked to each other occasionally; later he asked her to sleep with him. She refused, upon which he became very angry and threatened to make her sick. She told him if he did anything to her she would kill him. That night they were playing the hand game with several others. Tcukpa got mad because Josie was winning. He had his magic talisman wrapped in a handkerchief in his pocket. He pulled out the bundle and struck Josie across the eyes with it. She immediately had a [755] headache and nose bleed. Haitcatca, a man with some supernatural power, was there. He cut, sucked, and cured Josie. He sucked out only blood. He told her she would be blind some day, but she still sees very well. (The scars from this, and no doubt other cuttings, are plainly visible on her forehead.)

Tcukpa was finally poisoned. If he had been a really powerful doctor he could have cured himself. Nowadays people will pay anybody who is hard up, and willing to do it, to poison undesirable persons like Tcukpa: "They just do it to see if he is mets afịtu (strong doctor)."

A Nutunutu (Y) shaman who terrorized the Indians about Tulare lake killed Josie's cousin:

This story concerns Pokoi'lk, Motsa's friend.[37] Josie had a daughter, Mukuyik, nine or ten years old. One day she developed a severe pain in her right side; she had convulsions and died the next day. Later Josie learned from an old man that she had been killed by Pokoi'lk. This shaman was young and wanted to prove his power. Josie's husband had been working up at Kingston where Pokoi'lk lived. The shaman asked him for some money. He refused, saying that he had no money, that Josie had it all. This was true for the couple had been working hard and saved all they could. But Pokoi'lk got mad. He told this old man, "They'll dig up their money when their girl gets sick." He didn't go to Josie to ask for the money but just made Mukuyik sick. He killed her just to prove that he was able to. Said Josie, "Doctors often did this; they just like to try it like we'd try anything."

Pokoi'lk became more malicious as his power increased, and people feared him more. Once Josie's brother, Wepis, and her cousin went up to a fandango

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[37] See anecdote, p. 405.

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given by the Wukchumni. Pokoi'ik walked up to Wepis and said, "Do you want to die or do you want to live?" He had been making a practice of doing this, and people had to pay him for fear of losing their lives. He had been preying on these two boys for a long time. When the boys went up to this fandango they had planned to kill Pokoi'ik, who, they knew, would be there. But Pokoi'ik knew about this beforehand as doctors usually did. When the boys were on the way home a weird, invisible object made of hair frightened the horse which the two boys were riding. Pokoi'ik had sent it. The horse reared, fell backwards, and crushed Josie's cousin. He died before the night was over. 754

Poikoi'ik finally died. Somebody poisoned him. [683]

A typical case of a doctor's death due to intervention in another shaman's plans is that of Poso'o (Bob Tista or Bautista). Poso'o was a good doctor with much power, respected by white people as well as the Indians. He was a Tachi, and spent most of his life at the Lemoore ranchería. Josie Alonzo, who recounted the following story, lived with him for the last several years of his life:

At the Tule reservation was an old Humtinin ("southerner") named Tcehĕmsuk, a Koyeti (Y). He had some supernatural power but was a poisoner as well. He has always been at odds with Sam Garfield, a Wukchumni, who with his family lived at Tule River reservation. Tcehĕmsuk asked one of Sam's boys, Pete, a lad of about twenty-one, to come over to his house to drink some coffee. Pete did not want to go, but at the same time was afraid to refuse. Tcehĕmsuk gave him some cold coffee to drink. The following day Pete developed a bad cold, and complained that he "felt like he was burning up inside." They called a white doctor, but Pete's condition continued to get worse so they sent up to Lemoore for Poso'o. When the latter arrived Pete's neck was swollen up on the outside. Poso'o sang and danced for two nights. He cut and sucked the patient's neck but could extract nothing but blood. While he was doing his diagnostic singing none of his dream helpers spoke to him though he followed his formula perfectly. [776] [539]

One of his songs was:

watĭnihe	tsatsana	añṭawuhun
whose	chicken hawk down	belonging to a doctor

Now Poso'o himself began vomiting blood. Pete kept getting worse and died in a few days. Finding his efforts useless Poso'o returned to Lemoore. Josie in the meantime had been visiting the Pohots (Wukchumni). When she returned she found Poso'o very ill. He kept vomiting blood. He got much worse and went to bed. He knew that Tcehĕmsuk was making him ill. He tried to kill Tcehĕmsuk (from Lemoore) with his supernatural power but his power was gone. He depended on his own power and would get no other doctor to help him. He sang his songs while he lay in bed but nothing came to him. One of his legs became "nothing but wood"; it burned continually; he could not use it. Josie had him taken to the hospital where he died.

"This Tcehĕmsuk was a big doctor, so was his brother. He had poisoned Pete, but it was with his ṭipni (supernatural) power that he kept Poso'o *from* curing Pete, and finally killed him too."

In the southern part of the San Joaquin valley women doctors occur, though they are relatively rare. The only account of a woman shaman is that of Poi'ĭn, and her son Watisti, told by Frank Manuel, 756

756 a Bankalachi (WM) informant. All informants speak of her as a powerful but good doctor who took part in the doctors' contest against men shamans. Her son, however, to whom she taught all her knowledge, used it for evil purposes:

> 754 Wuni was the last chief at the Tule River reservation. He was a Yaudanchi; he was a good man respected by all; he had only a little money.
>
> 683 Watisti had a lot of power. He had "all kinds" of supernatural talismans and dream helpers. He could make rattlesnakes bite people at any time of the year, yet such snakes were not visible to the victim.
>
> Now Watisti disliked Wuni; he was jealous of his popularity. He sent a magic "shot" at Wuni. Though the "shot" entered at one place it scattered sickness all through his body. He died in a few days while Watisti pretended he was trying to cure him.
>
> Upon the death of this chief several men wanted to avail themselves of the opportunity to kill Watisti. The shaman had been accused of several killings but this was the first they could "get" on him. Wuni was the last chief, so they consulted no one. On a Christmas morning under the leadership of Pete Subusa, Yaudanchi (Y), another Yaudanchi, named Poncho, Bill Waley, a Wobonuch (WM) visiting at the reservation, and Juan Tcinu went to Watisti's house. He lived alone. Tcinu was sent to the house to tell the doctor that some people up the creek wanted to see him. When Tcinu and Watisti reached the spot where the others were in ambush they all shot at the doctor. Watisti had a talisman with him. He pulled it out, waved it, and flew through the air for a little distance but he was shot again and was killed. Watisti's mother had been dead a long time. He had no relatives that anyone can recall except his mother-in-law, who was alive at the time. She was very angry over his death and went about telling relatives of the avengers, "You're going to get a red cane," meaning that the winatum, who carried a cane ornamented with red paint, would be going about announcing their death. [195] [624]

CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

756 The foregoing accounts give ample evidence of the baleful effect that shamans had upon native life in south central California. That their success was largely due to what was doubtless imaginary powers does not matter; they played an awe-inspiring, dominating rôle whatever its basis. The penalty of death which was dealt shamans did not deter the strong-minded. The acquisition of wealth and power was worth the risk to the man who possessed the talents needed for the fulfilment of his ambitions.

622 756 572 The question naturally arises, what were the relations between the chiefs who wielded legal power, and these impressive non-officials of anti-social activities? As a matter of fact there seems to have been more harmony than conflict owing to a system of reciprocal services; a system which greatly increased the wealth of the chief on the one

756

hand, and protected the shaman from the violence of avenging rela- 622
tives on the other.

In every tribe a powerful shaman was the close friend and asso- 572
ciate of the chief. This alliance operated in various ways as the fol-
lowing accounts show. (In an earlier section we referred to the fact
that theoretically no one was compelled to contribute to the annual 661
mourning ceremony, or any other ceremony, for that matter, but that 756
dire results often befell those who did not do so.) George Dick, him- 622
self of chiefly lineage, and grandson and grandnephew of two power-
ful shamans, described instances of cooperation of chiefs and shamans 572
among the Entimbich (Y) and Wobonuch (WM):

> If a man, especially a rich one, did not join in a fandango, the chief and his doctors would plan to make this man or some member of his family sick. The doctor would sicken his victim with the "air-shot" (toiyue) used in the doctors' contest. The doctor sees to it that he is called in to make the cure. He makes several successive attempts to cure his victim, each time being paid for his services. He withholds his cure until he has financially broken the man and got him in debt. If he then cures the patient he sucks the shot out and shows it to the bystanders, saying that Night or a spring has made him ill.[58] On the other hand, he may let the person die, in which case the family must perforce join in the next mourning ceremony.
>
> The money which the shaman has collected as fees in the case he divides with the chief. Should the victim's relatives seek vengeance, for which they must obtain the chief's permission, the chief refuses his sanction on the ground of insufficient evidence. Hadn't the doctor shown that Night had caused the illness?

The machinations of chiefs and shamans were so well established that it was possible to make arrangements for intertribal killings:

> A chief may be jealous of a rich man in another tribe. If he wants him killed he sends his winatum to several other chiefs of near-by tribes, including that of the ill-fated man, asking them to come to a certain place on a certain night. Tawatsanahahi (Baker's Hill) was a favorite spot for these meetings. The various chiefs together with their doctors come at the stated time. There might be ten to fifteen present, including the doctors and the chiefs' trusted winatums.
>
> The chief who called the meeting addresses the group saying that he (and perhaps others) want to do away with this certain man, and asks those present for their opinion in the matter. The people who want the man killed put up a sum of money to pay the doctors who are to do the killing. If the doomed man's chiefs want him saved they have to double this sum and give it to the opposing chiefs. If they do not do so they automatically sanction the man's death. The case is decided right there at the time. Very often such a man is killed not because he is rich but because "he knows too much" (about doings of chiefs, etc.) or because some man wants the victim's wife, and has bribed the chief to have the man killed. If the man is to be killed the doctors start right in to do it. "No matter how far off that man may be the doctors will be able to kill him."[59]

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[58] Springs of water frequently made people ill, by sending sickness in the form of a water insect. Night and Water are both personified.

[59] See anecdote, p. 391.

622 756 There was still another way in which persons were done away with through chiefs and their shamans:

> 674 754 If one man wanted another killed he would go to a snake doctor just after the snake dance had been held. He would tell the doctor what he wanted and would give him a trust fee. "He gets about $100 if he is a big doctor; $50 if not so big. He is pretty likely to get killed so he asks for a lot." Then the doctor goes and consults his chief. The chief usually gives permission for the man's death after accepting $25 or $30. The doctor again interviews his patron and tells him that he will kill the man whenever desired. The patron sets the date, usually for the fall of the same year. Eventually the victim of the conspiracy is bitten by a rattlesnake sent by the snake doctor, and dies.
>
> The dead man's relatives go at once to their chief (or others, as the snake dance was an intertribal affair) demanding to know how it came about that this man was bitten after having participated in the preventive snake ceremony. If the chief questioned knows the truth he accepts money offered by the inquirers and tells all, even betraying the doctor—for sufficient money. If he knows nothing, or is loyal to the doctor, he refuses the money, and even gives the relatives a small sum to help them find the culprit.
>
> When the doctor is at last discovered the relatives return home. They tell their chief that they want to kill the doctor. He tells them "to get their bows and go 683 kill that doctor and all his brothers, even if they are innocent. If the brothers aren't killed they'll be sure to do something mean (retaliate). This is a good old Indian law."

A Wukchumni informant[60] gives a briefer version of a similar condition in his own and the neighboring Yaudanchi tribe:

> The chief always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the victim chosen belonged to another tribe he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking that he have his doctor kill the man. If the chief accepted the money he had his doctor proceed with the process of sickening and killing the man. The money received was divided between the chief and the doctor. Doctors who killed this way made sure that the patient would finally send for him by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.
>
> Usually we had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

The Kechayi informant made a brief statement which hints at the guilt of chiefs in such matters:

> Sometimes a doctor would be killed if he lost a patient. A doctor and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the supposed purpose of making an adjustment. A discussion was held and "often the family killed the doctor and his chief right on the spot."

616 622 756 Gifford's data on the North Fork Mono of the upper San Joaquin river show an analogous situation in regard to the powers and activities of chiefs and shamans.[61] In this region the moiety organization

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572 [60] Sam Garfield.

[61] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

616

prevailed but did not affect this phase of social life. The chief was 622
always of the eagle moiety. Eagle's supremacy was recognized here 572
just as it was to the south. Likewise too, the chiefs were open to 756
bribe: "If a buzzard (moiety) poisoner wants to kill someone on the eagle side, he may go to the eagle captain and pay him for the privilege. In such a case the poisoner may be immune from punishment."

Another informant told Gifford that "the chiefs were bosses over the doctors," but such a statement has little specific significance.

The doctors' contest, the most spectacular ritual in the mourning 756
ceremony series, offered opportunity for doing away with undesirable 769
shamans. In brief, this contest consisted of the magical killing of
shamans who were ranged in opposing rows and "shot" at each other 572
with magic "air-shot." Only the doctor who projected the fatal shot 622
into a fallen opponent could withdraw it. If the shot were not removed the victim would not regain consciousness, and would die within a few days. Thus it occasionally happened that a chief would want a rival chief's doctor killed, in which case the shaman who had power to revive this man in the contest would be paid to withhold the cure. A pretense at curing would of course be made.

Almost all informants in describing the contest speak of the deliberate failure, at times, to revive one of the fallen doctors. Of the other methods of killing people, given above, to which the chiefs had recourse, little is said by most informants. Those who did admit that chiefs were in league with shamans, were all men with the exception of the Kechayi informant. The only detailed accounts of the intrigues of chiefs and shamans are those given above by the Entimbich and Wukchumni informants. That chiefs were not always the benevolent officials which Yokuts and Mono ideals claim them to be, either was not generally known or was not readily admitted.

MOTSA, A POISONER CHIEF

The tribes living in the plains of the San Joaquin valley were the 619
first in the region to suffer from the encroachment of white settlers
and civilization. In the northern part of the valley the Indian population 648
is entirely extinct and has been so for so long a period that nothing is known of their customs. In the southern half of the valley a few members of the tribes originally dwelling about Tulare lake are still alive. But even in the childhood of these Indians the old culture was in an advanced stage of degeneration: as early as 1870 remnants

Joe Pohot, a Wukchumni informant, described his own experience 754
from poisoning as follows. 159

Once in the fall of the year Joe got poisoned by some old people who didn't like him. He was shearing sheep near Woodlake (Wukchumni territory). He was sleeping with Sam Garfield and his father at their camp, but they didn't do him any harm. It was somebody else. One morning he awoke to find finger prints on his right forearm and left thigh. These parts began to swell. He went out to work but had to stop after shearing only two sheep. He went over to sit in the shade. The other men at work laughed at him. He got worse continually; he could hardly move. Finally everyone left to go to dinner. Joe couldn't move from where he was. Soon Sam Osborn came along. Seeing Joe he asked him what was the trouble with him. He got some food and a horse and helped him over to Antelope valley where his grandmother and Mollie Lawrence were living. When they reached the camp no one was at home, but Sam had to go on his way. Joe went off to the swamp to find his relatives. He fell into the mud and lay there. He does not remember much here except that his grandmother and Mollie found him and got him home in a wagon.

For one year Joe stayed there too sick to get up; his arm and leg were swollen up and useless. His grandfather had been away. When the old man returned he saw Joe's condition; he told him that someone had grabbed him and put poison on him. The old man gave Joe a steaming. He first got some eagle
tallow which was dropped on a hot stone while Joe sat over it wrapped in a 754
blanket. Next he steamed him with a basket of hot water in which tadad (a plant, 755
unidentified) had been soaked. The water was kept boiling with hot stones. Joe
remained under the blanket as long as he could stand it. Then he drank some 159
of the decoction. The next morning he was nearly cured but his leg remained drawn up in a crippled fashion.

He stayed crippled a long time. In the meantime his grandfather died. A shaman came by their way. He said he could cure Joe. This doctor had an eagle down rope which he dipped in water and rubbed under Joe's knee; he blew in there too. This caused the joint to open sufficiently for him to get his mouth in to suck. The doctor made a small cut with a piece of glass. He sucked at the wound and got out a lump that looked like a lot of string wrapped around blood. He made a second cut and sucked out another smaller lump. These objects were buried in the ash heap.

The doctor was paid about fifty dollars, thirty of which was in cash, the rest [756]
in baskets and blankets. The doctor told Joe that he was going to leave him his own good health, as he himself was going to die soon because he had cured a man that some other doctor had sickened. The doctor did die about a year later. Joe was saved from poisoning a few times after that by waking up in time.

To return to Motsa, the evil Tachi chief, it was largely by the use 622
of poisons that he injured members of his locality, though he possessed 754
some supernatural power. The following account of his life and activities gives us an outward picture of the man's inimical attitude toward his fellowmen. The inward picture of his psychology can only be inferred.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

the life-for-a-life rule was the nearest approach to a definite law, and this was applied only when the opinion of chiefs and elders saw its justification. By what means, then, were peace and public satisfaction maintained? Largely by means of an influence which had no legal basis, the fear of sorcery. This factor in civil life worked for public good; it was an awe-inspiring force itself, and served as a tool for chiefs when used by them through their shamans. The fear of sorcery operated between any one individual and another. If, as we have said, the peace of a community depended largely upon the personal character of each person, the personal character in turn was determined or molded by belief in supernatural powers which could be turned against one. A man dared not cheat another at gambling or trading, commit adultery, or neglect any civil or ceremonial duty toward his neighbor, lest the offended person visit sickness or death upon him or some member of his family, either by his own power or that of a shaman hired for the purpose. On the other hand, a man could not take offense for no reason, and retaliate by this means unless completely justified, for the matter would eventually be aired before the chief. Thus sorcery as a deterrent of crime kept a balance of peace in everyday life. 671 671 626 754

This seems to leave shamans holding the whip hand. One tends to envisage the life of Yokuts and Western Mono as shadowed by the constant threat of witchcraft. It was; but this does not mean that an individual lived in a perpetual state of anxiety and dread. The idea of malevolent sorcery was a commonplace in their lives: one took care not to bring its force down upon oneself. But their attitude to it may be likened to our own to, say, bacteria, automobiles, or gas, dangers to which we are so accustomed that they are given little conscious thought though they unquestionably modify our behavior. And shamanism in native life was no less a necessity than these useful hazards of our own civilization. A doctor might be able to kill one, but at the same time he had the ability to cure sicknesses brought about by other agents such as Night, Springs, ghosts, or other supernatural creatures. It was hard to give up money, baskets, or a prized possession to him, but it was harder still to be sick unto death. And the majority of doctors were not malicious. It is only of bad shamans that informants tell their tragic tales, and these men were of course blamed for many misfortunes for which they were not responsible. A good shaman who found that his patient was not recovering would frankly say he had not the power, and suggest that another be called. 181 754 181 756

181 If he met with one or two failures he gave up his practice entirely,
756 or at least until he had strengthened his contact with the supernatural.
Such a man was free of suspicion. The doctor who continued to cure
181 after losing patients was the one to be feared for he was causing illness
just to make money in curing, without regard for public welfare. But
754 the doctor whose avidity led him to such extremes was done away with
on slight evidence; he had but a tenuous hold on life. Hence the men
who were willing to risk their lives in this manner for personal
aggrandizement were more rare than informants' accounts would lead
[756 us to think. To sum up, shamanism as a factor in political life acted
as a deterrent upon crime, was a force which preserved as well as de-
626] stroyed life, and its misuse was restrained by the threat of discovery
and subsequent death.

Turning to the intrigues of chiefs and shamans, it will be seen
182 that there was some justification for the alliance. A chief who hired
622 a shaman to sicken a rich man who did not join in the expenses of a
756 fandango or mourning ceremony was setting a public example at the
same time that he was enriching himself. To the chief and to his
shaman, who shared the money paid in fees by the sick man, it was
unquestionably a matter of financial profit. But from the point of
view of the public at large it was a fair punishment. Thus: a man
of money who neglected or refused to bear his share of a public
[577] expense was placing a heavier financial burden upon his fellow-
citizens; furthermore, generosity was an ideal, and the man who
failed to contribute his share was showing himself to be greedy, and
hence received no sympathy if misfortune befell him. In the absence
of any law or system of taxation, it behooved each citizen, especially
those of wealth, to participate in the sharing of public expenses, lest
he incur the displeasure of the chief and of the public, and sickness
or death be visited upon him.

The chief, however, in his turn could not unrestrainedly make use
182 of malevolent supernatural power. He was a public figure, and as
622 such was open to censure. Though his position was acquired by in-
heritance, his retention of it depended upon his conduct. Simple as
was the civilization of Yokuts and Western Mono, upon the chief,
as official executor, devolved all manner of responsibilities—and these
were not easy. Take for example, the management of a mourning
ceremony in which the chief's own village, other villages, and even
other tribes were involved. The financial resources of all persons
concerned had to be determined, and the intertribal exchange of

dreamed of it if he wanted its protection and aid, and, during ceremonials 182 626
he wore a paint-pattern representing its appearance. Furthermore,
if he belonged to a certain lineage, eagle, dove, bear, snake, or
coyote, he had certain functions to perform which were his prerogatives.
It will be seen that these factors and their interplay made up
the chief's position: Eagle was chief; a person with eagle totem should
be chief; the totem was derived from lineage membership; lineage 182
membership was expressed in a number of private and ceremonial acts. 614
This series of interrelating factors fortified each other's persistence in 622
the cultural mechanism. To put it differently, if the chief as an institution 626
were regarded as unsatisfactory, and a conscious desire for a
change sprang into existence, the change could not be made without
flying in the face of established concepts expressed in other associations,
as that of Eagle as chief in mythology and ritualistic practices,
or of totem with lineage which occurred in every family, or of function
with totem and lineage which operated not only in the case of eagle-chief
but was a fundamental factor in ceremonial activities, as the
bear, snake, beaver, and coyote dances. Whatever is said here in [624]
regard to the chief in his position is equally true for the winatum.

The shaman's place in society was the result of some of the same 182
concepts recombined with others. The lineage factor did not enter 756
in his case. The concept expressed in mythology of Owl as a prehistoric
shaman, plus the whole "constellation of ideas" surrounding
the supernatural world and its relation to the real world, gave the
shaman his place. Thus: the supernatural world was accessible
through dream experiences; any individual might try to establish [787]
contact with it; some persons had more ability to do this than others;
the more frequent the contact the more supernatural power was
acquired; a few individuals accumulated so much power that they
could use it to aid or injure others; such men made their livelihood by
using this power, and these were shamans. The human organism
being what it is, sickness and death attack it; these being undesirable
states and attributable to supernatural causes such as the illwill of
Eagle, Ghosts, Night, Springs, or Lightning, the shaman as a skilled
practitioner with supernatural forces must be called upon to relieve
them. Dangerous as an individual doctor might be, the institution of
shamanism had to be endured; to do away with it would be unthinkable
in the Yokuts-Mono system of thought. The fact that the supernatural
world was available to any one, and that the average citizen
sought and had dream experiences, simply strengthened extant con-

182 ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt
756 as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder
or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have
been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was
ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demonstrations
was popular belief maintained and fortified.

The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different
182 factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two
626 factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white
671 intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food
262 supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this
area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of
definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if
there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had
occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for
acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated property
[574 ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of
giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were
431] received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law
might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cultural
habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but
were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own
[431] culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and
especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony,
were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality
[565] of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class
system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life
182 may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought
773 habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared
829 in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life.
But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created
the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west
is of no moment to the Yokuts mind. He went above say some, or
[787] possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his
former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of
dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same
182 laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision
829 in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the precedent
set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise

177
distance south and west, they arranged for a food supply, and during 182
the week of ceremonial managed the camp organization. In the meantime 622
the singers visited near-by towns, spreading the new faith. When 769
the dance was actually held, Takac, the chief, made a preliminary address; he told the assembled people why they were there and what they were going to do. Then he turned the meeting over to a Ghost Dance apostle, as he would have done had it been a local ceremonial such as a shaman's contest, huhuna dance, etc. Kocowi, the shaman, [756] presumably in the guise of a person familiar with the supernatural, occasionally addressed the multitude. Otherwise shamans took no active part in the dancing but remained by themselves while they exerted their occult powers to get news from the supernatural world. From time to time their winatums reported to the assembly what news the shamans had received.

The excessive size of the Ghost Dance assemblies might well have upset the normal ceremonial organization. The fanatical converts might have carried out their proselytizing without consulting the chiefs. The chiefs lost nothing of dignity or prestige in the face of Eagle's or Tuwawiya's (the "father's") expected return. In fact, the chiefs as ceremonial leaders not only were responsible for the holding of Ghost Dances but were responsible for their discontinuance as well. After a year or more of united effort by the greater part of the Yokuts-Western Mono population, the predicted results were apparently not forthcoming. The people were physically wearied, and were neglecting their hunting and household duties, all to no purpose. Seeing this the chiefs called their people together and in the interests of public welfare asked them to stop holding Ghost Dances. The cult was worn out, and except for individuals who occasionally sang the Ghost Dance songs in the privacy of their houses, was put aside as a thing of the past.

The diffusion of the Ghost Dance in south central California offers a specific case wherein the established cultural mechanism continued to function under the stress of a highly disturbing influence. Chiefs, shamans, and winatums, wielding their official and occult powers, carried on their customary rôles in political and social life. We cannot, of course, be certain that this persistence was due to the network of beliefs ramifying these institutions. But at least it can be said that the persistence occurred, and that the social traits involved were integrated with the mythology, lineage system, and ceremonies of Yokuts-Mono culture.

or -k found only in the Valley dialects. Child in Tachi is not 539
witcep but witep. Tcan-a seems to be similarly formed, by substitution of tc for t, from tan, Yaudanchi tañ, objective of ta, that.

10. A medicine man's song for dancing. He dreamed that 533
his father said to him: 539

lanaka	nan-a
listen	to-me

756 ●

mayèmai
(name of the composer of the song)

142

notu	na	keu
sent	I	there

tcicin-è	wèhè
shall-emerge	wehe

wè	mukulau
we	(turning)

hi	sonolo	wèhè
hi	band-feather-ornament	wehe

11. From the informant's grandfather.

yò-nono	pana
again	(parenna)

piwaca	nan	yo-nona	pana
grizzly-bear	me	again	(parenna)

For piwaca compare the Tachi form biwacā and Tulamni biawas. For pana compare song 8.

12. Dreamed by a man the night after he had seen a water monster.

watin	xe	t'uit'al	dupit·
whose	this	shoot	fish!

wi	xi	min	ta	watcam	ahādad
well,	this	your	that	feather-band-ornament	is-putting

13. Grizzly-bear-doctor's song, learned from the bears by the informant's father-in-law.

mèedjin	xolònon
(noise of scratching)	

tcuyuak	ma	ha	tala	taaji
	(even if you enter)			

yakiuhaaliu
at the rocks

tā-na-mam	otokotooji
that I you	(raise)

105 to graduate from high school, nor have any of the Indians become tradesmen
or artisans. The primary source of income for the group is wages derived
from farm labor. This is one of the reasons for the fluctuating population;
[166] frequent trips from Lemoore in search of work take families away for days
or weeks. Frequent visits from other Indians also added to the picture of a
[648] constantly shifting population. Working as farm laborers has thrown the
Tachis in with Mexicans, as well as with other groups of Indians, and
genealogies have become very complicated.

115 The singers were all older people with the exception of Clarence
533 Atwell, who was about thirty years old when the 1940 recordings were made.
He was certainly the most energetic and outstanding singer recorded. He
756 had been a practicing doctor for a year before his death in 1940.

Leon Manuel was about 70 years old when the 1957 recordings were
made. He was still active and, since he received a pension from the
government, had a good deal of time to devote to making clapsticks and other
paraphernalia. He knew a great number of songs and was a good singer, but
he was not a doctor. Manuel was in good standing with the Tachis because
[354] of his pension and because he knew some of the "old-time songs" and ways.
The importance of knowing traditional songs here is somewhat analogous to
the attitudes in the Peyote cults among the Washo:

> The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists and the degree to which the Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with the song, drum, and rattle...A large repertoire of songs is also the measure of the man. One who has been able to "catch" many songs is not doubt "living a good life, and the medicine is backing him." (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957. 618:19.)

I make the analogy here between the Tachi and the Washo because doctors have had to be good singers, both at the present time and in the past. This is not unusual in California; in general, it is necessary to know a large number of songs and to be able to sing them well in order to be a doctor in many areas of the state.

Josie Atwell, the mother of Clarence Atwell, came to the Tachi community
115 from Sanger, where there is a Wechihit Yokuts group. She was recorded in
533 1940 and again in 1957, and was in her eighties at the latter session.

Professor Kroeber's recordings of 1903 were made of a singer named Salt Lake Pete. Although the stories which he told are still known and remembered, not a single one of his songs is known today, neither the melodies nor the words. This suggests that most of the later recordings were of songs which were made up or received subsequent to the 1903 recordings. There was a very close correspondence between the 1940 and the 1957 recordings, perhaps largely because Josie Atwell was present at both sessions. 115 533

The problem of how fast music is made up and forgotten in different groups is a complicated one, contingent upon attitudes toward music and other features of culture. There has recently been a development in California Indian music which roughly parallels southeastern United States ballad singing. In both areas singers are becoming self-conscious about the music, and there is a great deal of eclecticism and virtuosity in the performance of the songs. A few Indians, usually doctors, make a deliberate effort to learn "old-time songs" and try to identify with traditional Indian cultures. As to why there was no correspondence between the 1903 recordings and the 1940 recordings, Professor Kroeber has suggested that the songs may have been brought in from outside the Tachi area. Indeed, many are in dialects other than that of Tachi. 182 533 [177]

The songs are sung in a relaxed non-pulsating style, preferably with a clapstick accompaniment. Although cocoon rattles are known and have been used in the Yokuts area, they are no longer employed. The feeling is that the latter are supposed to be used by doctors and, since there are no doctors indigenous to the Tachi community, they are not used. The clapsticks are clapped with the syllabic or rhythmic beat of the song, except with one group of songs which required an almost independent accompaniment. The Handgame Song #3, the Tulare Lake Song, and the Deer Songs were included in this group. It should be indicated, however, that the Deer Song represents something very unusual melodically and rhythmically in this area. The formlessness of the melody and the indecisiveness of they rhythm place this song in a separate category. 533 534 [156]

Helen Roberts (1936) mentions that the clapstick accompaniment of the Yokuts was completely independent of the rhythm of the songs. With the exception of the three examples mentioned above this is not now the case in the Tachi area. The accompaniment corresponded closely to the beat or to a subdivision of the beat. Thus, if the beat was 4/4, the accompaniment might be 4/4, 2/4, or 1/4. The end of a line is marked by a rapid vibration of the clapsticks which gives the effect of a compression. There is, however, no break in the rhythm of the lyrics. (By "line" is meant a complete phrase with as many reiterations as are sung before the transition to a new phrase.) 533

Tulare Lake Song(1) [539]

1. a wa ten may a wa ten may paʔa seo
2. ke wey may xo ke we may xo paʔa seo(2)

The repetition pattern for this song as sung here, is 1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2, etc.

Apparently the number of repetitions made depends upon the singer's disposition and the context of the song, while the order of phrases is fixed by convention. 533 In Professor Kroeber's early transcriptions the bulk of the songs were a few to several syllables longer than the 1940 and 1957 recordings. While the earlier songs sometimes contained up to eight or ten phrases totaling as many as eighty syllables, there was not a single long song found in the latter recordings. The Rattlesnake Ceremony Songs from the adjacent Yaudanchi area were particularly long (Kroeber 1907: 363-75).

A correlate of the shortness of the songs is their highly allusive character. The personal power song of Dawis Sapagay is given in text. This 538 song refers to a rather elaborate story of how Sapagay was given the power to heal sickness. Sapagay was a very well-known doctor throughout the Tachi area.

Dawis Sapagay's Song [539]

palawa na he palawa na he	"Where will I go in?"
he yeo okonew palawa na he	"I will go in (at the place)
yo ke wey na yo ke wa ke wa	where green scum is on
	the pool."

The story is as follows:

Looking for a doctor who could teach him curing power, 539
Sapagay went to the edge of Wood Lake to find the underwater en- 756
trance to the place where the doctor lived. He dove in (at the place where the green scum is), and came up in a cave in which he met the guardians of the doctor. There was a man-sized spider with voracious jaws, and, afterwards, a rattlesnake coiled ready to strike. Last, there was a puma and a bear who tore men to pieces.
Sapagay used a kingsnake charm against the spider and the rattlesnake [789]
(kingsnakes eat spiders and rattlesnakes), while against the puma [825]
and the bear he used a weasel charm which made him small and agile. He thus passed them by.

539
756

At length he came to the end of the cave. It was a new and strange land which he had not seen before. After looking around, he came upon the doctor sitting steadfast as a stone and looking straight before him. After a time the doctor looked up and asked Sapagay, "What are you doing here? How did you get in? You must have some sort of power to get past my guardians." Sapagay told him of the charms he had used and the doctor approved of them. They were the right charms for the man who wanted doctor power.

Sapagay looked about and saw that there was no one around. He said, "This must be a very lonely place; there are no other people here." The doctor replied, "You don't seem to like it here; why did you come?" And he continued, "I will show you the people who live here." So he called, and a long line of deer came out of the black mountain to the west. Sapagay thought to himself, "These aren't real people, but just deer from the woods." But the deer came and formed a circle about him and lost their horns and hooves, and turned into beautiful girls dressed in string aprons, beads, and clamshell ornaments. The doctor then addressed the girls, "Now give him your songs that he may have doctor power among his people." And the girls taught Sapagay their songs so that he could use their secret power.

When Sapagay learned all that he could, he asked the doctor how he could get back to his people. The doctor told him that the guardians would be asleep when he returned through the tunnel. And then Sapagay returned to his people and became a famous doctor who was called to all parts of California to cure the sick. (3)

[p.9-B]

178 relative importance of characters, rather than
538 plot, is the reflection of social organization in the myths which makes Eagle the chief, Dove his messenger, and Coyote and Cougar influential people.[8] In Newman's text material all these persons are referred to as "the great ones." But again, while holding the characters in place, this factor would not prevent the addition of many minor actors were such elaboration desired.

538 It is conceivable that the constant retelling of certain very popular tales is another phase of the Yokuts trend toward simplicity and restraint: novelty and variety were not sought. Our collection is not sufficiently exhaustive to prove this point.

In the native texts there is no tendency to be explicit in referring to characters or to cultural features. If an episode has to do with several characters, the speaker or actor in each instance is not always named. The listener is expected to know who is talking or acting, for it is apparently assumed that he is already familiar with the details of the story. (We have no check on the possibility of a greater specificity in the case of a new story being related to an unfamiliar audience.) Nor are there individual speech styles to identify certain characters.

171
538 The number of cultural features appearing in the myths are few as compared with Basin tales, wherein many material objects are mentioned, or with Pomo myths which recount Coyote's creations and institutions. In Yokuts and Western Mono myths are items or incidents which may be understood through the culture, but are not always self-evident. The most important of these is the social pattern, Eagle as chief, Dove and Road Runner as messengers, Owl as doctor. A little episode describing an assembly called by Eagle to decide upon a seed-gathering expedition introduces two tales (p. 1; abstract 114); and Eagle's judiciary rôle also appears in Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (p. 2). Shamans' mercenary
●[756] practices are exposed (abstracts 89, 93, 108, 109), and the slamming of their trays upon the ground (abstract 108) is their usual method of "shooting power." The power of jumping great distances, a shaman's ability, is directly mentioned in a Western Mono myth (tale 40), and is inferential in several others (tales 3, 4, 16).
[785
262] Fasting or observing a meat taboo is mentioned in various tales, especially in one referring to the Jimson-weed ritual (abstract 131). Ceremoni-
[796] als such as the annual mourning ceremony, shamans' contest, snake dance, and bear dance are not mentioned, although one obscure reference is made to the feather ornaments worn by bear dancers (tale 14). Falcon's ill-luck at gambling (abstracts 90, 91, 93) is not due to the fact that his wife

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[8] The integration of mythical and actual social forms is discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, pp. 369-371.

Chumash NS7 YOKUTS NS29

C walked; he went fast; the bear could run as far
754 as that rock (200 yds.), turn around, and be
back, very quickly. The driver stood up, then sat
789 down when he pulled the reins; he growled. He
791 started from here at sundown and got to Tejon in
2 hrs. (50 mi. away in airline); whenever they
wanted to go some place they'd go over and get
this bearskin; it was kept hung up. One old man
took his grandson, who was about 17 yrs. old,
over to the cave where the bearskin was; he
wanted to teach him how to drive it. The old man
got inside the bear. and was telling the boy how
to handle the reins, and the boy was watching him.
The old man told him, 'When you want to start it,
you step on this; when you want to turn, you pull
the reins.' The boy went inside the bear and sat
down; I guess he stepped on it too hard, and that
bear jumped quickly and ran away. He ran into a
steep canyon and jumped into a big oak tree; he
got stuck in it, hanging there. The boy got off
quickly; he was frightened. They always came up
here for that ayi·p, that white stuff like baking powder, to blow on the bear. They made lots
of these machines; 10 of them."

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754 Rattlesnake shamans.- Rattlesnake sometimes
obtained as pet by vision seekers; persons who
776 had this pet could play with rattlesnake; "at a
fiesta they danced and held snakes in their hands;
791 they got a song from rattlesnake, and he wouldn't
bite them after that" (SM). "One man had rattlesnake as pet; when anyone was bitten he was called
and sucked out the poison. When that man was dying
the people found his pet outside the door; they
T threw the snake away, but he returned" (MM).

754 SM thought rattlesnake good pet to obtain, but
825 denied persons with this pet could cure snake
bites; FP said rattlesnake "a friend to witches";
177 one of animals witch could send out to accomplish
776 evil. All informants agreed no rattlesnake step-
792 ping ceremony held, as among Yokuts (Kroeber,
[171] Handbook, 504); SM's brother had seen Yokuts shamans go to rattlesnake holes, bring back snakes,
handle them publicly; Tübatulabal did not do this.
Anecdotes of persons who had rattlesnake for pet
mainly relate to Yokuts who were living among
Tübatulabal (see Autobiography of FP); PN, who
had rattlesnake as pet, married to Yokuts man; FP,
whose intertribal affiliations were with Koso
T toward E, held rattlesnake in low esteem (above).

Y

● 756 Exhibitions, competitions.- At mourning ceremony, or little fiesta for face washing (below),
789 shamans, or persons with power from vision
(takiniganan) held shooting contests (umu·lomot);
791 "they played that way" (SM). Contest between 3
Yokuts, one Palagewan shaman, held on SM's rancheria, described as follows: "At about 9 o'clock
in the morning, 3 Tule River reservation Indians
and Bill Viejo Chico from Bull Run, with 4 men
(o·wi·ganan) to help them paint, went out in the
bushes. The contestants put on their feather
skirts and headdresses and had their faces painted

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in red and white stripes (see section on Dress and Adornment). Then they came back to a level place by the houses and Bill Viejo stood behind a little fire, facing the sun, with a basketry sifter (wa·t) in his hands. He was going to do the shooting. The Tule men kept walking and dancing back and forth, facing Bill Viejo, but about 100 ft. away from him. Bill Viejo held up his tray 3 times, pointing it toward the sun, then N, then S; then he held it over the fire twice and rubbed it with the palm of his hand. The third time, after he held it over the fire, he put it against his chest and talked, and as he talked he blew toward the other men, and in this way got the 3 men down. One of the Tule men was barefoot; he dug at the sole of his foot and got a lizard out of it that Bill Viejo had shot in it" (FM).

MM, SM, describing same contest, said Bill Viejo held sifter up after warming it and at the same time shot substance, paring from coyote's nails, or piece of coyote, rattlesnake skin, into each opponent in turn; as Tule men were shot, they fell down, became stiff; each man's assistant and woman took fallen man away, laid him under shade; if his power strong enough he could extract shot himself, but if he had insufficient power, shooter had to extract it. Sometimes man remained unconscious for all of 30 minutes, but no one ever died. After being shot men sweated freely, even though day cool. If shooter shot, missed opponent, spectators standing near by not in any danger being hit (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229).

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Although most of informants said this was doctors' contest, SM affirmed that not only shamans, but persons having power from visions entered such contests. He related following anecdote as illustrative of power of air shot used in these contests:

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One white man saw that sort of play at Tejon; in a fiesta the takiniganan were playing that game; the white man saw when they shot each other.

"Oh," he said, "you just do that; we don't believe it."

They told him, "If you don't believe it, you go and stand over there; we're going to try you out."

The white man said, "You wait; I'm going down to my ranch; I'm coming back Sunday. You wait for me here." And that white man returned on Sunday; another white man came with him; he was going to take care of him, I guess.

The Indians said, "What are you going to do?" to that white man. And that white man put a steel vest on under his shirt.

They asked him, "Are you ready?" and he said, "Yes," and got off his horse. They told that white man to stand about 300 ft. away, under a lone oak tree. He walked over there and stood there, thinking; suddenly he told them he wasn't going to stand there. He was frightened; he returned to them.

The Indian who was to have done the shooting said, "You watch me; I'm going to shoot that